

Canada's AIDS Strategy: Nothing For Prisoners, Not Much For Anyone

After years of pressure from activists, including a successful campaign to dump his predecessor, Canadian Federal Health Minister Perrin Beatty has finally unveiled a national AIDS strategy. The plan has been criticized by activists on the grounds that it features no new major federal programs or funding, and is nothing more than a glossy package simply listing the current meagre efforts and offering no news of substance.

The one concrete action in the new strategy is the creation of a treatment information registry, called TISAH (Treatment Information System for AIDS/HIV). The system, funded to the tune of \$6 million, is expected to become operational next year, and is designed to provide health practitioners and people living with AIDS/HIV access to up-to-date information (including alternative and holistic treatments such as herbal remedies and acupuncture) through a newsletter and a computer and fax network. The creation of the registry, however, will not address the issue of treatments that are not available in Canada or the question of who will pay for the drugs and for the alternative and holistic treatments, or even for the housing and food needs of the growing population of impoverished people with AIDS.

Nevertheless, the TISAH has satisfied some activists. Beatty is a slick operator, and has even delivered a speech in which he went out of his way to praise the work of lesbians and gay men. A rarity for any cabinet minister, and especially a member of the Progressive Conservative (aka Regressive Preservative) Party, Beatty's acknowledgement of the lesbian and gay community's largely voluntary effort to meet the AIDS crisis has gone a long way toward legitimizing him in the eyes of some few, but influential (and mostly male) members of our community who, never experiencing poverty themselves, want nothing more than to assimilate into the mainstream of Canadian society; maintaining their class privilege while having their sexuality recognized and accepted. Nevertheless, the majority of lesbian, gay and AIDS activists want more, and are continuing to fight on the many social and medical issues which have been brought to crisis level by the AIDS epidemic.

Absent in the Federal Strategy was any immediate direct action on education to fight the spread of AIDS and to provide treatments for people already living with AIDS. In particular, the immediate issues of providing safe sex materials (education, condoms, bleach and clean needles) and treatment for people with AIDS in prisons was almost completely ignored in the strategy.

When asked about this, Beatty responded that any such move would require the cooperation of the Solicitor-General, who apparently is not convinced there is a problem. Beatty has commissioned a seroprevalence study to determine the extent of infection among prisoners in Canada, but it is unclear what steps will then be taken. When he was reminded that a Royal Commission had already strongly recommended that AIDS education, condoms and bleach be provided to prisoners, Beatty, a former Solicitor-General himself, replied, "The problem is reconciling that with the need to maintain order in the prison system, and that's the issue one has to struggle with. Anything related to a breakdown in order can literally cost

lives, in the same way [as AIDS]." He went on to say, "When an individual is sentenced to prison, the penalty he has to pay is in his liberty. Obviously one aspect of the element of liberty is the question of when an individual can have sex and when he or she can't. Conjugal visits are earned, for example." He neglected to mention that same sex couples are categorically denied conjugal visits. He continued, "In prison, one of the things that has been given up is the unrestricted right to sex," and then cryptically added, "people have a responsibility for their own actions."

While Beatty is no doubt proud of his strategy, and of his slick moves in making himself and his government look good to at least a section of a very active community, we at *Bulldozer* consider his continuing neglect of prisoners tantamount to genocide, against both lesbians and gay men and the oppressed communities from which prison populations are drawn. No matter his fantasies about the appropriate sexual behaviour of those incarcerated in his prisons, Beatty's refusal to immediately provide condoms and clean needles or bleach (as well as latex gloves in the women's prisons) to prisoners will allow the easy spread of AIDS both inside the prisons and to the loved ones of prisoners after release.

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national prison policy. While this is important, it should not stand in the way of efforts to be of direct assistance to HIV+ prisoners, both as individuals and as part of a greater whole demanding a change in national policy.

Pierre is in need of both political and financial support in order to be returned to general population and thence to a medium security institution, and to pursue his request for compassionate release. He has a lawyer working on his behalf and, if released, will no doubt be a positive influence on the prison policies of the local organizations.

For more information or to contribute funds, write Syndicat des Eleves, 2035 Boul St-Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 2T3. Make cheques out to Karl Levesque. Letters of support are also needed. They can be sent to the same address, should be directed "To Whom It May Concern", and should mention that Pierre would like to devote his time and energies to AIDS education and that remaining in prison could very well hasten his death.

People can also write Pierre directly, in French or English, at the following address: Pierre Maltais, 81 42-A, 246 Montee Gagnon, Ste-Anne-des-Plaines, Quebec, JON 1H0.

— from Syndicat des Eleves ∞

Archivists and Others: You have not missed an issue, if the last issue you saw was May/June 1990. We are changing the dating methods of the PNS to the months when the magazine comes out, rather the months in which the events covered occurred. There was no PNS July/August 1990 even though 6 issues will come out this year.

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Prison News Service

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* We've changed our dating system. See back cover.

Hostages at Home — Resistance Conspiracy Case

by Bill Dunne

President George Bushbo gets all sanctimonious about Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's use of Americans and other foreigners as hostages against US aggression. Maybe the reason he's been so anxious to maintain that facade from his vacation retreat in Maine is the plight of his own hostages in Washington. Unfortunately, Bushbo has much greater power to abuse and oppress his hostages in order to coerce acquiescence to the demands of his apparatus of repression than does Hussein. Perhaps more importantly, the mainstream press joins in a conspiracy of silence and won't tell on him, enhancing his power to wring concessions from his victims.

So it is with the six defendants in the DC Resistance Conspiracy Case (Marilyn Buck, Tim Blunk, Susan Rosenberg, Alan Berkman, Linda Evans and Laura Whitehorn). They were indicted on 11/May/88 for resistance to exploitation and oppression in the form of conspiracy "to influence, change and protest policies and practices of the US Government concerning various international and domestic matters through the use of violent and illegal means." The "policies and practices" included the establishment of murderous puppet regimes in Latin America and elsewhere, the continuing atrocity of the Nicaraguan contras, the conquest of Grenada, US support for racist regimes and practices at home and abroad, US imperialism and official refusal to acknowledge that the US holds political prisoners. The "violent and illegal means" allegedly included inflicting property damage on a number of military and government targets, including the US Capitol, with bombs.

There was no evidence that any of the six had actually done the deeds, and they were apparently charged in an effort to criminalize solidarity with their just and legitimate ends. All six were transported to the DC (Washington) Jail where they were held under abysmal conditions in an effort to undermine their resolve. False rumors were circulated in an attempt to turn other prisoners against them. Although they were able to win marginal improvements and discredit the rumor through continuous struggle, the conditions of which they were made victim at the short-term DC Jail were and still are arduous. Laura Whitehorn was held for these actions that resulted in no injury under preventive detention without even the fig-leaf of other sentences. The six were held hostage against themselves. Increasing the pressure were all legalistic machinations conducted in a hysterically militarized atmosphere.

However, the most powerful hostage Bushbo's Bureau of Prisons (BOP) minions had against the defendants was the life of one of them, Alan Berkman. He is currently suffering a relapse of Hodgkin's Disease, AKA lymphatic cancer. The BOP has been doing everything it can to aggravate Alan's condition: isolation; lockdown; tense and confrontational conditions; extreme security despite a short sentence and humanitarian practice (Alan is a doctor and has used that skill in service to the people); denial and underprovision of medical care; and malicious prosecution. Bushbo & Co. held him to ransom as crassly and subtly as anything laid down by Hussein and with less reason.

In order to give their comrade the best chance at life, the Resistance Conspiracy Defendants were forced to accept a plea agreement with the government. Our side of the barricade has no armed capacity to contemplate a hostage rescue, no sabre to rattle, no economic or physical sanctions with which to give the other side incentive to accord even a modicum of respect to our interests. The only thing the six could exchange for their

comrade was more oppression of themselves. According to the agreement, charges against Alan, Tim and Susan will be dismissed. Marilyn, Linda and Laura will plead guilty to conspiracy and the Capitol building bombing and Laura also to a count of another indictment.

The plea will be officially made on 7/Sept and sentence imposed in October. The only one to whose time the additional sentence will really add is Laura, who is currently a political detainee without any sentence. Marilyn and Linda already have 70 and 45 year sentences, respectively. But it is to Alan that the difference will mean the most, perhaps his life. Alan's sentence only has two years to run — and that is half again as much as the parole guidelines require in similar cases. Without the charges pending, chances are much better that the swine will not be able to deny him the treatment he needs to reach the streets.

As a general rule, it is inappropriate for political prisoners to say that their actions constitute "crimes" of which they are "guilty" in order to get better treatment from the enemy. The enemy must not be aided in criminalizing the resistance. However, this rule cannot be seen as rigid dogma if the movement for the most equitable social reality is to survive and transcend its current weakness. The flexibility to do what reaps the best results consistent with principle must be maintained. The Resistance Conspiracy Defendants were faced with a heavy contradiction: choosing between the appearance of

admitting a crime (only the appearance, as it was clear that there were no crimes involved in the case, just illegalities at most) and the life of a comrade. Their humanity manifested itself in the choice. They put their comrade above the minor rhetorical defeat. Given that our comrades are the most valuable resource any of us possess as well as the value inherent in looking out for them, the Resistance Conspiracy Defendants took the proper horn of a difficult dilemma.

The hostage-taking and hypocrisy to which Bushbo's government apparatus had to stoop to gore them with either horn more than cancels whatever ephemeral something the government feels it got. The Resistance Conspiracy Six made a point of separating the issues from who did what in furtherance of them, so that something was exceedingly small in any event. ∞

Political Prisoner Fights Cancer; Fights for Parole:

Dr. Alan Berkman, one of the Resistance Conspiracy 6, continues to languish in the amerikan gulag, suffering the abuse disguised as treatment that they are offering for his Hodgkins Disease. A previous humanitarian campaign saved him from the BOP "hospital" in Springfield MI, but after his cancer went into remission, he was sent back to Marion and from there, in May 1988, to the DC Jail to await trial for the Resistance Conspiracy. He was not allowed to go outdoors

for a full year, and it was no surprise when his cancer recurred. The BOP again tried to send him to Springfield, and again public outcry forced them to provide him with adequate treatment at a hospital in DC.

Increasingly vulnerable to hemorrhage and infection, Alan has just begun a 6-month program of chemotherapy, from which he will recover in a tiny, unsanitary cell. Under the best of conditions, his chances of survival have dropped to around 50%. Yet the "security precautions" and medical neglect that Alan has endured for the last 5 years reduce his survival chances even further. These conditions are particularly cruel in light of the fact that Alan has been eligible for parole since May of 1987. Already he has served far more time than is called for under the sentencing guidelines of the weapons offense for which he was convicted. If Alan had renounced his revolutionary and anti-racist politics, he would have been released long ago.

The ending of the Resistance Conspiracy Case will have no impact on Alan's release. A humanitarian campaign is now under way for his parole. Letters of support can be sent to: U.S. Parole Commission, Air World Center, Suite 220, 10920 Ambassador Drive, Kansas City, MO 64153, ATTN: Irma Huseman, Case Analyst

A message asking for Alan's parole can be faxed directly to the Parole Commission by calling 1-800-782-5465. Ask to send the Alan Berkman message. The cost is five dollars. ∞

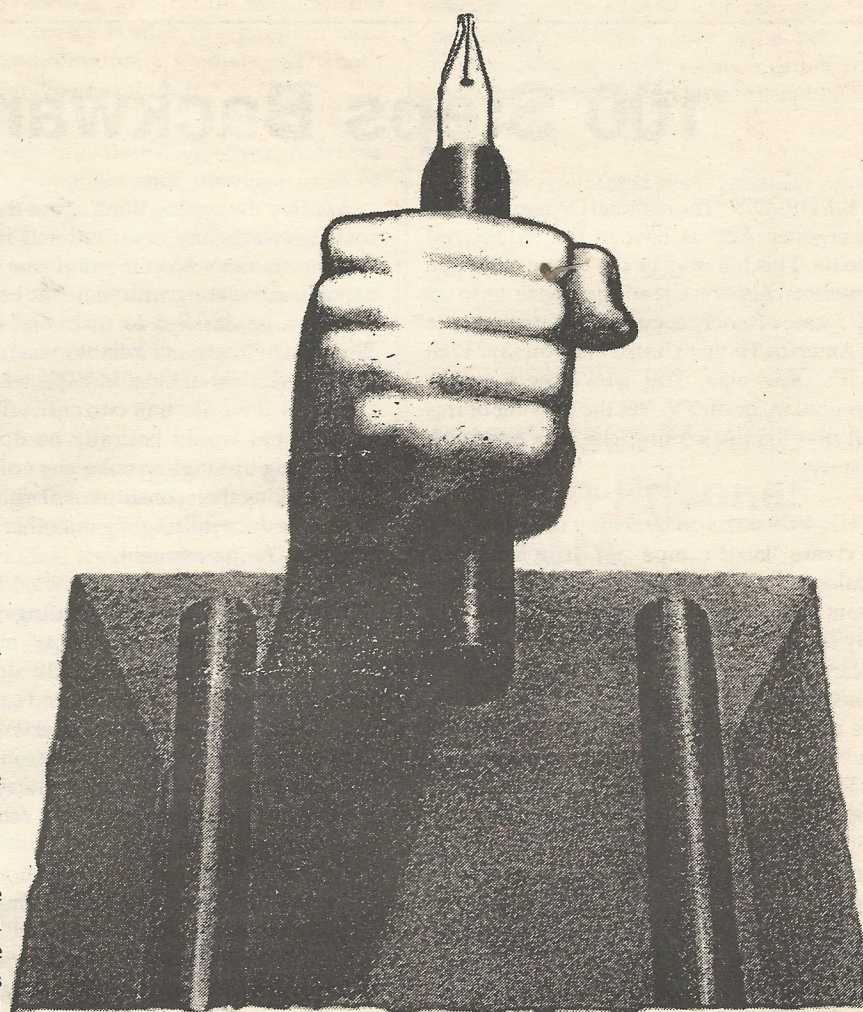
Freedom To Be Pressed

by Bill Dunne

On 26/Jun/90 Northern District of California Federal Judge Charles A. Legge ruled in favor of the Bureau of Prisons in the Dannie Martin censorship case. Dannie is a prisoner journalist who was punished and transferred from USP Lompoc (CA) for having written an article in 1988 critical of warden R. H. Rison. Rison had arbitrarily closed the prison yard during the mornings and the article dealt with that not-so-petty tyranny and the needless tension it created. The article was printed in *The San Francisco Chronicle* a newspaper for which Dannie had written 16 previous articles. Dannie was found guilty of violating BOP rules forbidding prisoners to conduct business and to receive money from the media, act as reporters or publish under a byline. He and *The Chronicle* sued.

The decision sucks on several counts. The most obvious is that the swine have no legitimacy to censor anyone, period. Censoring not just Dannie Martin but prisoners generally is exactly what Rison and now Legge are about, too, thin disguise of rule violations notwithstanding. What are those rules for, if not censorship? Prisoners can sell signed drawings for publication without being considered to be conducting business, reporting or writing under byline. Other hobbycrafts may be sold as well. Moreover, if prisoncrats fear that certain writing may generate unrest, they have unfettered authority to ban them from the prison and circulation of manuscripts is already prohibited. What the prisoncrats are more concerned about is that the outside doesn't learn what's happening inside.

Legge's decision was particularly slimy because it puts the onus on the publisher. Prisoners remain free to send whatever they like to the media, but if the publisher pays for it or prints it under the source's byline, s/he risks punishment for the source. And no-one has defined what "act as a reporter" means, making any use of the material risky. So the press becomes less free, even for those that own one. ∞



TONY HAMILTON

Let Them Eat Crack!

from Bara

What is the "War On Drugs?" Is it, as the Bush Administration would like us to believe, a campaign to protect the nation's youth, to clean up our streets, and to stem the health epidemic related to rampant drug abuse? Or is the actual target of the war something other than illegal drugs? Many facts show that Bush's war is not actually against the drugs themselves, but that the "War On Drugs" is a flimsy disguise for a war against the population of the U.S., primarily young people of color, especially Blacks, poor and working people, and those who use drugs. The "War On Drugs" is a propaganda campaign to provide an excuse for, to make acceptable to the public, and to invite their participation in what is really a racist war with genocidal implications waged against people of color in the USA.

It will help us to understand the "War On Drugs" if we first understand that capitalism is a system founded upon slavery and genocide. The wealth accumulated by this nation is wealth in the form of labor, lives, and resources stolen from people of color on this continent and overseas. The land this nation is built upon is land stolen from Native American Indians and Mexican peoples. The Europeans came here as settlers, and built a nation not unlike the settler nations of Israel and South Africa.

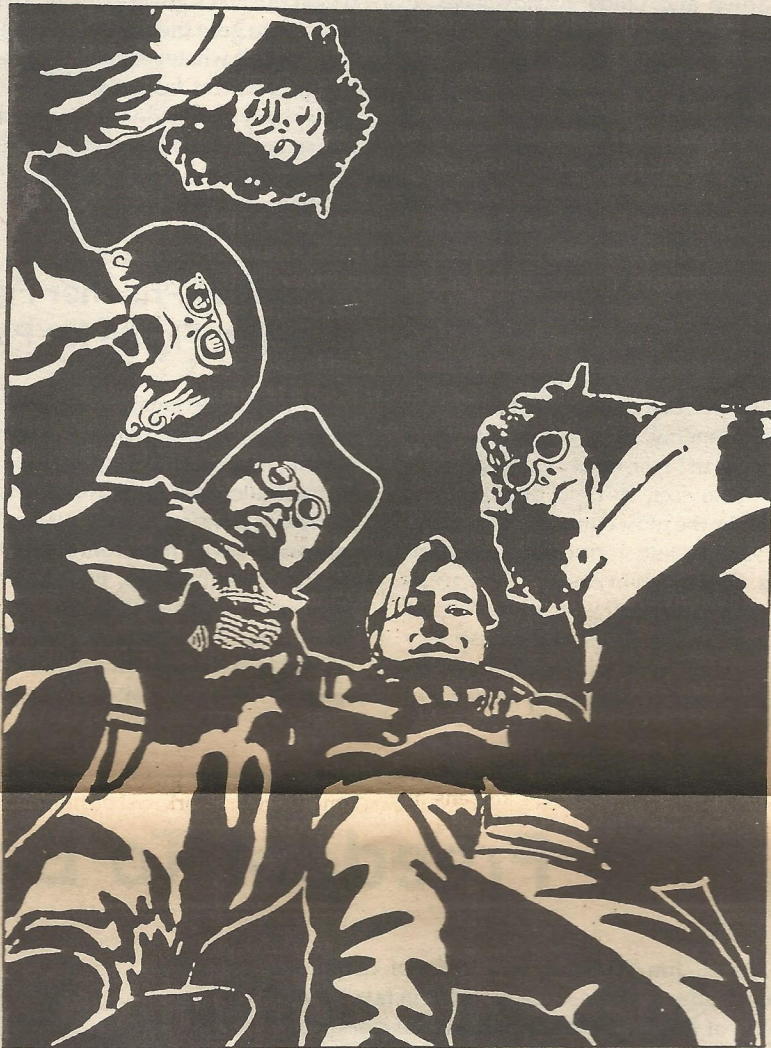
The purpose of the "War On Drugs" seems to be to reinforce and maintain the imbalance of power between the white ruling class of the U.S. and the working or so-called "underclass", which consists mainly of people of color. The government lives in constant fear of an uprising of oppressed people which would ultimately lead to a more fair and humane system.

On television we are fed bullshit images of the "War On Drugs", which depict drugs and their users as "criminal", and that the problem is a "criminal" matter, not a health or social issue. The police are glorified and depicted as heroes saving people from crazed

drug fiends. We too are invited to participate in the offensive by turning in a drug "criminal" to "America's Most Wanted", a TV show that encourages private citizens to become spies for the government by calling in information which they hope will lead to the arrest of some fugitive of the law. This fits right in to the definition of fascism: what makes fascism different from other tyrannies is that fascism demands the active participation and blind patriotism and racism of a portion of the regular population. This

frightening trend is reflected in the results of a recent poll about civil liberties and drugs: 67% polled said that they would sacrifice some freedoms if it meant we could greatly reduce the amount of illegal drug use. 87% polled favored unrestricted searches of student lockers.

It's a war alright but not against the drugs themselves. The drugs are actually a weapon in the war used by the government to keep people too fucked-up to fight against



forms of oppression they face daily like racism, poverty, and hunger. The government knows that that drug use offers an attractive escape from the bleak realities of daily life. "Uncle Sam is the pusher man," "the White House is the Rock House," "Selling hubbas is a government job." These are slogans many of us have heard before, is it just a paranoid conspiracy theory? There are facts which prove it is not. In the 60's the CIA took over the Vang Pao heroin dynasty in southeast Asia and began importing dope into American cities where it had its greatest impact in the Black, Asian, and Latino Ghettos. Again in the 80's Oliver North and the CIA were busted for organizing an international arms & drugs supply network which involved massive amounts of cocaine, supplied by the Medellin Cartel in Columbia, sold in the United States to raise money which Olly and his buddies would give the Contras for weapons in their war of brutality against the people of Nicaragua.

The war rages on yet crack is still easily available in any East Bay Neighborhood. A few words about crack, I personally don't encourage the use of drugs like crack but I also don't believe that the solution is jailing and killing those who smoke it. Crack is the most addictive substance known to science, it is a killer. Its effects on people, especially the Black community, have been devastating, 18% of the babies born at Oakland's Highland Hospital are born addicted to crack, in 1988 200 people nationally died from cocaine overdoses. It appears as though the government is waging chemical warfare against people of color.

Bush and his new "Drug Czar", William Bennett, want the American public to believe that drug abuse is a problem which can be solved by laws and punishments, and that it is not a political, social, or health problem. 75% of Bush's \$7.8 billion 1990 "War On Drugs" budget is allocated for the building of more prisons and more law enforcement (ie more pigs into the ghettos.) Let's take a look at what this approach means to people of color and the poor in America's inner-cities: Imagine a thousand uniformed figures in black "Ninja" suits, some with masks, sweeping a ten-square-mile city neighborhood, harassing and arresting thousands of Black, Latino, and Asian teenagers at random, most are humiliatingly spread-eagled against paramilitary vehicles while their names are checked against computerized files. Latinos are turned over to the INS and many are deported. Hundreds are taken in for the smallest of infractions, while hundreds more, uncharged, have their names entered in the police files for future surveillance. Military-style checkpoints & barricades are erected around neighborhoods, armed pigs, demand to be shown a police-issued ID proving residence in that neighborhood before allowing an individual to enter. Does this sound like a police state in Palestine or South Africa? These are becoming common tactics for the police in LA and elsewhere. This really is a war, Daryl Gates, a Vietnam veteran, and LA's Chief of Police was quoted as saying "this is Vietnam here." The racist undertones here are also reflected by the Delaware State Senate when in 1989 they seriously considered a proposal for public whipping of drug offenders, a common punishment for runaway slaves in the 1800s.

The war is specifically against youth, for example, a new California Supreme Court ruling gives the police the right, during daylight hours, to stop and search any young person on the suspicion of ditching school! Between 84-88 the California Legislature has passed 80 anti-gang measures, in some US cities it is illegal to belong to a gang, in

Continued on page 3

100 Steps Backward: HR-4079

Bill HR-4079 "The national Drug and Crime emergency Act" is now in the House and Senate. This bill may be the turning point in American history. Creating provisions to set up a state of emergency concerning drug use in America. Haven't heard of it you say? Well that's their plan. You won't see it in the Oregonian, or on TV. Yet the passing of this bill may be the turning point in American history.

HR-4079 starts off by setting up provisions to create "labor camps" for drug users and dealers. The sentence is stated as being 5 years mandatory for having any amount of any drug. You will also have to pay for your incarceration and will not be released until you do so. The sentence for a third offence is life at hard labor.

The model that they are using for these "labor camps" is the "Energized plus sustained mobilization for WWII". This is synonymous with the internment camps that the Japanese citizens were put into during WWII. Title I Sect.101(a) (1) states: "During the period of the Nat. Drug and Crime Emergency, Federal courts shall not hold prison or jail overcrowding unconstitutional...". Sec.102(B): states the need for "specific examination of the successful use of tent housing during the mobilization for WWII". Please correct me if I'm wrong but it seems to me that we're taking a few steps backward.

Another disturbing thing about this bill is that it retracts any constitutional rights of drug users (let's keep in mind that anyone using or associating with someone using any drug can be classified as such) and dealers. This is reminiscent of what the German supreme court did in the mid 1930s when they classified Jews as "non-citizens". The U.S. government would basically be doing the same thing by singling out a class of people and revoking their constitutional rights. This opens the door for singling out other groups of people for harassment.

There is even a section on cutting costs for the construction of "labor camps" and prisons. These cuts not only include air conditioning, recreational activities, and color TV., but also social programs and other amenities. I guess we can watch the "Simpsons" on a black and white tv., but I've always been under the impression that drug rehabilitation was a social program.

The newly constructed "labor camps" will be built by private contractors and may be owned by private prison industries. The prison industry is one of the fastest growing industries in this country, being surpassed only by Iran and the USSR as far as percentage of the population that is now in prison. There are also provisions for prisoners to be contracted out to private businesses at prison standard wages. These wages to be used to

pay for the prisoner's trial and incarceration (this is not unlike what the Nazis did to the various groups that they persecuted).

They also intend to revoke our 4th amendment rights concerning search and seizure: "evidence which is obtained as a result of search and seizure shall not be excluded on the grounds that the search and seizure was in violation of the fourth amendment to the Constitution of the U.S." This means that even before anyone is convicted they have already lost their rights to a fair trial! Included is the revocation of your right to appeal unless a judge decides that you have probable cause to do so.

This bill is 96 pages long there is an abundance of unconstitutionality spewing from its pages, including mandatory drug testing for all students from pre-school up through college if schools are to continue to get federal funding. Try explaining to your pre-school child why she/he has to pee in a cup twice a month in front of a government worker for the next 16 years.

We received this document through second hand sources. The author suggested that Americans contact their congresspeople to get a copy of the bill which also lets them know that people are watching. If anyone has more information, please send it to us for the next issue. ∞

Colorado Confinement Resistance

by Bill Dunne

The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML) and other concerned people are already mobilizing resistance to the new state-of-the-art, super-max prison about to be built at Florence, CO, to replace USP Marion as the Bureau of Prisons' (BOP) #1 dungeon. They have correctly recognized that the time to mount opposition is now, before construction is complete and authorities can claim that their hands are tied by architecture and opponents should have complained sooner. Accordingly, they have organized a conference on the subject for November in Chicago to discuss strategy, tactics and goals toward preventing the Florence prison from being the instrument of repression the BOP would like.

The current situation is that the BOP plans to break ground for the project in October and have it completed in 1993. Local media reports from the area show that as of July, the "Western Correctional Complete" was to have four separate units: minimum, medium, maximum and a 555-bed dungeon. Other indications are that this arrangement and which of the Units will be built first are not firm, though the super-max part is all but assured.

A major task in organizing against this new instrument of oppression is discovering information. Already, there are indications of toxic contamination problems. Questions are being raised by citizens in the vicinity about radioactive mine wastes, heavy metal contamination of the nearby Arkansas River and hazardous coal and cement production debris, all of which involve health hazards. None is sure of the health and safety consequences of the oil wells on the actual property. More questions and answers to them will make the issues harder to dismiss.

A general if hazy sketch of the physical plant and program is also known. USP Marion warden John Clark says it will be like Marion's lockdown with little interaction between prisoners and staff, feeding in cells, few services and opportunities for prisoners and big cell time. Other information supports Clark, and also indicates the likelihood that "security" will be used as an excuse for making Florence even more onerous than Marion in some respects. More information could make

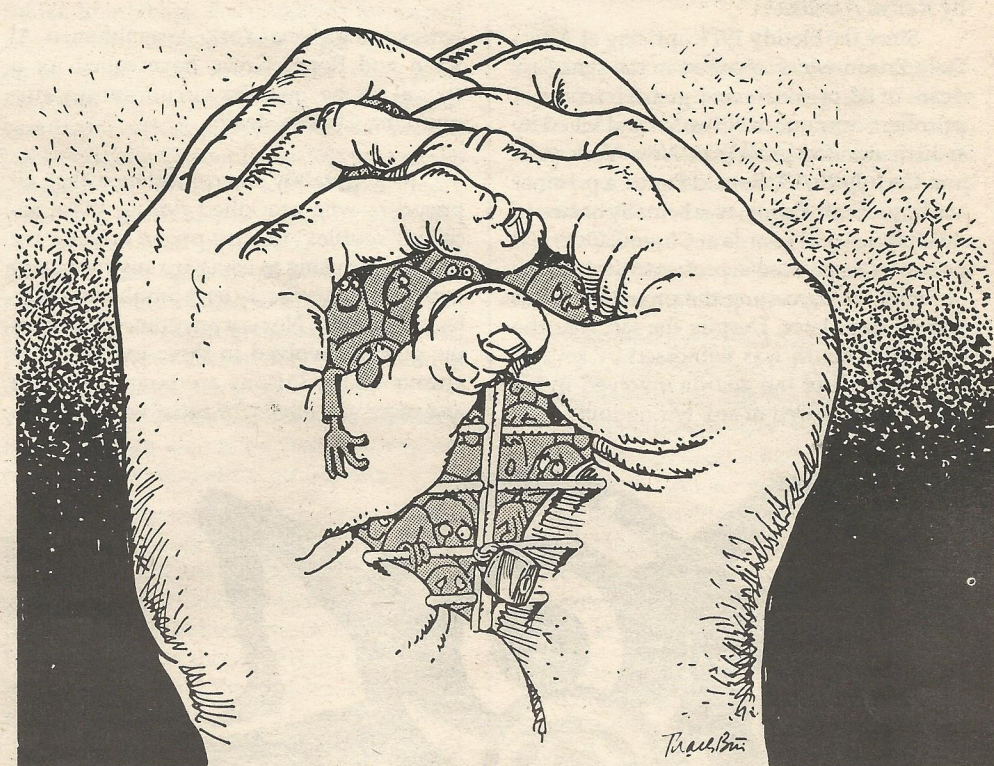
it clearer exactly what is planned and give people specific ammunition to contest particular aspects of the plant and program — information such as plans revealing no provision for a real yard or work and education facilities, or materials requisitions for low-wattage light fixtures or windows that don't open.

The quest for information, however, while important, should not deter anyone from action. It is not as if nothing can be done in the absence of additional information; verily, things must be done. Enough is already known that priorities can be set, directions established, and concrete steps taken. In addition, the swine may be able to deny the opposition much of the best material. They are even now recognizing the value of information about the project and are becoming tighter with it. Some of the areas in which what is necessary is already known are:

Education: There is no reason why a variety of video, audio, and instructed educational opportunities cannot be provided. A Marion-type program is unacceptable. Education facilitates security because the mental exercise prevents deterioration and absorbs intellectual capacity. Many educational establishments offer courses of study readily adaptable to secure situation and educators can benefit from such programs as well as prisoners. Solicitation of the aid and interest of people involved in such programs can occur now. In any event, security that is still to be built can be built to accommodate these things.

Recreation: Marion Unit Manager McElmurry opined that recreation at Florence max would be in little kennel-like pens like those for the hole at Marion — in order to prevent helicopter escapes. In reality, such limitation can only be seen as an attempt to discourage recreation and its salutary effects. There needs to be provision for a real yard with adequate space, group activities and equipment.

Congregation: Indications are that dungeon Florence will be even more of an isolation prison than Marion. As the originators of the penitentiary, the Quakers, discovered, this is destructive. Evidence suggests that the



cell ranges and tiers will be small, meaning that even if institution-wide congregate activities like dining, recreation and religious services, there is no reason why they can't be on a unit and unit-sized level.

Occupation: Work is a fundamental part of the human experience and there is no reason prisoners should be relegated to the worthlessness of endless cell time. Even optional piecemeal work would be preferable to enforced idleness on both economic and psychological grounds, though access to meaningful work and training to do it are the goal.

Visitation: Purportedly for "security", non-contact visits are inflicted on Marion prisoners. There is no justification for this in the record of what contraband has been smuggled. Moreover, the cost of this privation to everyone far outweighs the meager benefits. Indeed, at a prison that imposes such an extreme burden of separation from family and community, there should be both contact and conjugal visits.

Communication: Given the remoteness and isolation of Florence, provision must be made for community groups — social, cultural, religious, etc. — to enter the prison and interact with prisoners. Phone calls need to be more accessible to prisoners than they are at Marion, as they are in every other federal prison. This not only ameliorates the lockdown, but allows some community oversight as well.

These are only a few of the areas that need to and can be addressed on the basis of current information. Others include: Will there be ideal legal services given that mutual aid between prisoners is likely to be all but impossible? Will the cells be designed with due attention to ergonomics and the fact that they may be a person's whole world for what is rumored to be a four year "program"? Will there be hearings and due process governing confinement to Florence max to eliminate the arbitrariness that characterizes Marion? Will prisoners be permitted typewriters, given that technology has obviated security concerns and most state systems have long allowed them without problems? The list is long.

A potential useful tactic given the proliferation of Marion clones — some 36 states now have them — would be to assemble details of other super-max operations. Due to lack of centralization, many of these places will have been using elements that would

contradict proscribing the same elements at Florence on security grounds. Such circumstances could be used to bolster demands and undermine the BOP argument that the whole "unitary" program will fall if any of its elements are eliminated.

While our side of the barricade may not have the political gas to stop such a project completely at present, we can certainly prevent it from becoming another upward increment in how much abuse via incarceration is acceptable in the American Gulag Archipelago. We may even be able to stop the current maximum restriction mania by making the cost of insuring that "security" is not unduly and counterproductively destructive or offensive more than it's worth to the prisoncrats. We have an advantage in knowing that it is already that way to the community. The more freedom and sanity prisoners can maintain through the prison experience, the less damaged they will be and the more the community of which they are a part will benefit. And reformist as such action may seem, it increases our air to make revolutionary changes.

For further information on the November conference, contact:

CEML
343 S. Dearborn, Rm 1607,
Chicago, IL 60604. ∞

Crack continued from page 2

Hayward, CA. and dozens of other cities nationwide, school authorities have passed dress codes banning the wearing of supposed gang colors & hand signals, in LA police are under orders to stop and interrogate anyone they suspect is a gang member, basing their assumption on their dress or use of hand signals, and we can assume skin color is a factor too. In Oakland there is a law making it illegal to sit on the sidewalk. In business districts dependent on student money, such as LA's Westwood or Berkeley's Telegraph Ave., young people of color are routinely stopped, harassed, and searched by police (aka Apartheid.)

The war is also taking its toll on women, the poor, and families: in Florida, where in some cities the KKK is working openly with police, laws are being passed making it possible to imprison women for child abuse when their babies are born addicted to crack. In Berkeley authorities are taking action to terminate federal rent subsidies and evict tenants in whose homes evidence of drug dealing has been found, regardless of whether there is any evidence that the tenant is personally involved. Since January the police in

Lawrence, Mass. have been confiscating driver's licences, and Medicaid and Food Stamp identification cards from people arrested, but not convicted, on drug charges.

Despite the war, despite the laws, the sale and use of drugs goes on. Anyone truly concerned with the drug abuse epidemic must deal with the realities that make people want to use and sell drugs. This is a system reliant on racism, the survival of which depends upon the ability to suppress rebellion and control the oppressed population. In the fact of high unemployment, rampant racism, poverty, and a health crisis which includes a rapidly declining infant mortality rate, and homicide being the #1 cause of death for young Black men, one can see how drug use offers an attractive escape to many, and how selling crack, for hundreds of dollars a day, seems to many the only real alternative for employment. To combat drug abuse and the "War On Drugs," one must combat racism, poverty, homelessness, AIDS, sexism, and the capitalist system which depends on these forms of oppression.

Bara, POB 3501, Oakland, CA 94609. ∞

Important Notice for All Non-Prisoner Readers:

We would like to hear from all the non-prisoner readers who have not contacted us for some time. We want to know if you wish to continue to receive the *Prison News Service*. Anyone in regular contact with us, or those with whom we exchange periodicals need not respond to this. But donations are needed since our costs are rising rapidly to about \$1,000 Canadian an issue. This is a high cost country, and this applies especially to postal costs. We do operate by donations rather than subscriptions — and we'll send it to anyone who can not afford it — but please remember to send us some money regularly if you can afford it.

Congressional Investigation and Inspection of Prisons Needed

by Kenya Nkrumah

Since the bloody 1971 uprising at Attica State Prison which resulted in the senseless death of 43 prisoners and guards, scores of prisoners continue to be beaten and killed by sadistic-minded guards in New York prisons. On July 20/89, Ronald Smith, a prisoner at Clinton State Prison, was brutally beaten to death by several guards at Clinton. Over 600 prisoners responded in protest to the murder of Smith by boycotting the prison messhall several days later. Despite the fact that the beating of Smith was witnessed by several prisoners, all of the guards involved in his death were cleared of any wrongdoing.

wrongdoing. New York Assemblymen Al Vann and Roger Green have called for a special probe into the circumstances surrounding Charles' death.

It is certainly no coincidence that all prisoners who are killed during these so-called "scuffles" (a term prison officials are favorite for using to cover-up any foul play) with guards are Black (both Smith and Charles were Black). Nor is it any coincidence that the guards involved in these incidents are always white. Prisons are becoming more and more of a haven for racist white guards

they can brutalize and murder prisoners with absolute impunity!

As a prisoner who has spent the last 17 years in prison (for a crime I did not commit), I can personally attest to the inhumane and oppressive nature of prisons. Many of the conditions that contributed to the 1971 Attica rebellion are allowed to exist today. Prisoners are regularly subject to verbal taunts and racial epithets from guards, unprovoked assaults and beatings from guards, arbitrary disciplinary action, inadequate medical care, poor diet, etc. Here at Great Meadow State Prison, which is known for its racism and brutal treatment of prisoners, prisoners are beaten and brutalized daily by guards. Guards at this prison display a very animalistic and ominous demeanor toward prisoners. They are allowed to verbally abuse prisoners and walk around with their clubs out in a menacing and threatening manner. In most cases the guards deliberately provoke physical confrontations with prisoners through their verbal abuse of prisoners and threatening club gestures. When a prisoner protests this abuse, he is beaten and himself later charged with assault. Great Meadow is well remembered for the case of William Butch Harvey. Harvey, then a prisoner at Great Meadow in 1983, was savagely beaten to death by guards for merely questioning the ransacking of his cell by guards. This ransacking of cells is still a practice common amongst many guards at Great Meadow and is used as a harassment and retaliatory measure.

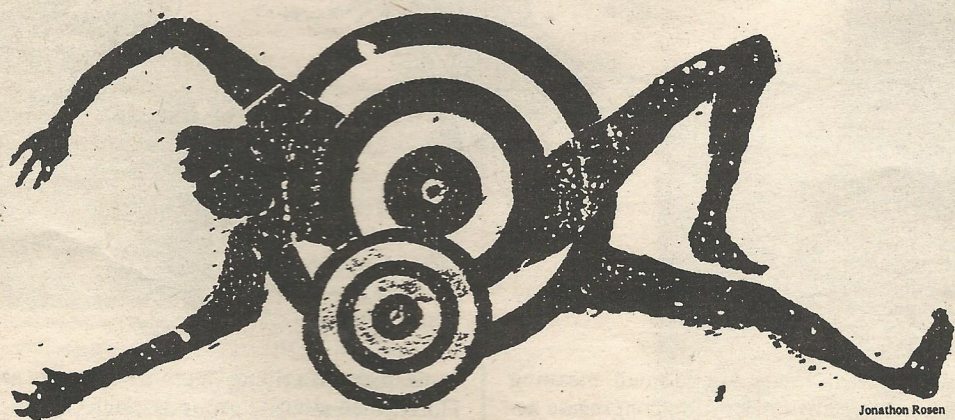
Recent calls for an independent investigation and inspection of New York prisons has been taken up by the Black and Puerto

Rican Legislative Caucus and many community and political activists. Political activist Ted Kirkland, who is a former member of the New York state parole board, and a harsh critic of racist and oppressive prison conditions, has previously called for such an investigation, stating that Blacks should demand "an immediate independent investigation and inspection of prison conditions throughout New York state to insure that prisoners are living under conditions that are conducive to rehabilitation, instead of inhumane and oppressive conditions that not only dehumanize them while incarcerated, but which perpetuates a criminality within them that is violently released upon society once they leave prison." Kirkland cited the 1988 rebellion and taking of hostages (guards) by young prisoners in the Special Housing Unit at Cossack State Prison as "a warning of the storm to come."

Our Prisoners Political Action Committee at Great Meadow is spearheading a national petition drive for a congressional investigation and inspection of all prisons in the nation. Petitions are currently being circulated. We urge the public to support and work with us in our effort to expose the brutal and oppressive nature of prisons. For more information contact:

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PO Box 51
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Many Races Cultural Foundation
African Cultural Awareness Center
10 South Park Avenue
Rockville Center, NY 11570 ∞



More recently, on May/24/90, James Charles, a prisoner at Attica, was beaten to death by numerous guards at Attica. The beating of Charles was said to have been witnessed by over 100 prisoners. His death touched off an angry overnight protest by hundreds of prisoners in the recreation yard. As in the case of Smith, the guards involved in the death of Charles were cleared of any

to practice racism and brutality against Black prisoners in particular. Thomas Coughlin, who is the Commissioner of New York prisons, should be held criminally responsible for these repeated death-beatings of prisoners. His failure, or more so his refusal, to take serious action against guards and prison administrators in response to this type of incident has sent a green light to guards that

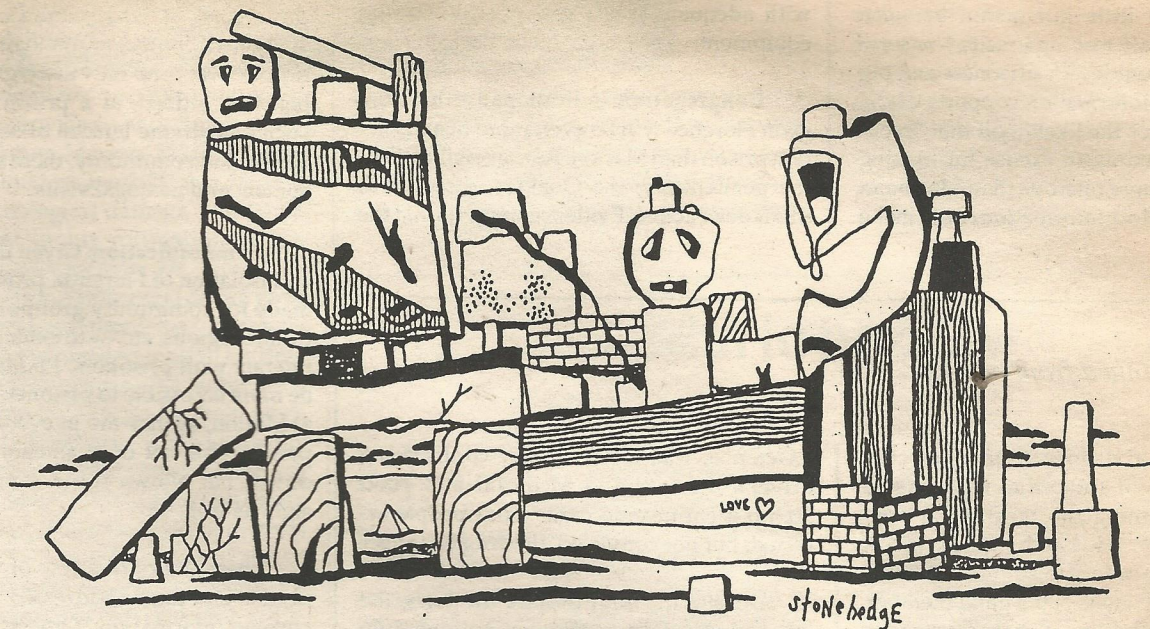
One Day In November

by James L. Beathard,

Anytime the death penalty is made a reality in a nation or state problems immediately arise. Naturally, there are the usual - and valid - criticisms such as the financial burden such extreme measures impose on a court system. Or the risk run in the unavoidable "questionable" causes and "margin of error" mistakes resulting in an innocent person being executed. And no one can deny the statistical evidence proving that the death penalty at best provides no deterrence and, in fact, appears to exacerbate the frequency of violent crimes. As incontrovertible as these problems are they are still not as damning as the inevitable debasement of society the death penalty causes. So often the words "dehumanizing" and "immoral" are used without any tangible proof so that the claims are easily dismissed by proponents of Capital Punishment as subjective terms, as relative value judgments. But these are not always intangible, apparently mystic or philosophical pronouncements. I have witnessed this debasement occurring in very real, very concrete ways.

The world was unfortunate enough to have witnessed the spectacle that surrounded the Bundy execution. A sizeable proportion of people participated with pleasure in circus atmosphere antics and activities amounting to a nationwide celebration of death. Concerts were staged, commemorative items sold, parties were held and speeches were made - all in celebration of the taking of a human life. It was as if the State sanctioned killing had released some malicious facet of human nature in otherwise good people. One might suggest that all the activity was merely a perception based on selective media coverage. I know different. I've seen it happen when there were no cameras or reporters.

In the very early morning hours one day this last November I had to stop at the Walls Unit (that's the main unit where the administration sections are housed as well as the Death Chamber) on my way to the state's prison medical unit at Galveston. While at the Walls I was left in the transport van wearing the customary ten-plus pounds of chains and shackles, parked only yards from the Death Chamber, yards from where a friend, Donald Franklin, had been put to death only hours before. The two guards driving the van, went to get something to eat, leaving another pair of guards watching the van from outside. These two guards had been on duty during Franklin's execution and while not permitted to watch the execution itself they were, apparent from their conversation, permitted to see the body afterwards. They spoke of this as a privilege and compared the total of bodies from past



executions they had each viewed. They spoke of the state of the corpse in disgusting ways, even laughing about watching one of the other guards placing the victim's hands in degrading positions. A third guard, a younger one, came and joined the conversation, lamenting that he'd not been one of the "lucky ones" who'd seen the body or any of the past ones. The older of the three assured the lad that there were plenty of executions coming up and that he'd see to it the boy got to see at least one of them. At that the other guard pointed out that "the guy in the van" (me) was from Death Row. The young guy seemed excited and asked if that meant "there was going to be another party tonight". He was visibly disappointed when told that I was only passing through on my way to the medical unit and not there to die. There is no way to describe how watching and listening to those ghouls made me feel, no way to

characterize the nausea and disgust that any person with the slightest bit of human compassion would feel.

Such is the effect, even with no cameras or reporters to witness, that State sanctioned killing has on people, what kinds of behaviour and thoughts are elicited. Never have I seen anything of that caliber occur among my fellow inmates on Death Row - never have I seen a "Celebration of Death". What I have seen here are the regrets and the remorse. And that makes we wonder - will society ever learn about compassion, regret, or remorse?

Reprinted from *Endeavor*, a paper produced by prisoners on Texas Death Row. Available for a donation from:

Endeavor, PO Box 23511, Houston, TX, 77228-3511. ∞

ALL THIS FOR A GOLF COURSE?

Mohawks surrounded by police, armed forces

by S. Harrison

Last March, dirt roads leading into the Mohawk territory of Kanesatake in Quebec were blocked by members of the Kanesatake community to protest the planned expansion of the nearby Oka Golf Course. At issue then was a few square hectares: at issue now is the future of the land-rights struggles of Canada's aboriginal people. Nowhere else in recent Canadian history has there been such double-dealing, brute force and naked racism by all levels of government against a native community.

The land in question is part of a larger Mohawk claim outstanding for the last 273

years. The average land claim in Canada takes at least 20 years to settle, if it's not "rejected" or put on the back burner. Fully three-quarters of Canada's land mass, and eighty-five percent of Quebec's, is under aboriginal title. At Kanesatake, a court injunction ordered the Mohawks to dismantle the barricades, and when it passed unheeded the provincial police (Surete du Quebec) were ordered in to enforce the injunction.

On July 11, Surete du Quebec (SQ) forces attacked the barricades with high-powered automatic weapons and teargas. They went in shooting, but met return fire over their heads. In the bungled raid, Cpl. Marcel Lemay was shot, and miraculously no Mohawks were injured. Adding to the SQ's stinging defeat was their own teargas returning on a shifted wind, sending 100 heavily armed officers into quick retreat.

The same day in nearby Kahnawake, a Mohawk reserve near Montreal, a solidarity blockade of the Mercier bridge linking downtown Montreal with the suburban communities of Chateauguay and La Salle was erected, accompanied with the threat to blow up the bridge if any harm came to their relations at Kanesatake. This became the pressure lever to force talks on a host of issues including the land at Kanesatake and a better process for resolving land claims. The Kahnawake community then began to face attacks from white residents upset about the "inconvenience" the Mohawks were causing.

The Chateauguay residents were organized first by an ex-cop and within days the Ku Klux Klan showed up. One of several flyers issued contained the following: "We ask the Quebec government to: 1) Cease social aid as well as the other rights and services offered to (Mohawks) by this same Quebec which they do not recognize; 2) That the Mohawks responsible for the murder of Corporal Lemay, as well as damages and other public mischief be charged and judged in the name of all before the law. Support your local Klavern."

Meanwhile, informal talks began at Kanesatake to establish preconditions for formal negotiations. It took awhile to get Quebec to agree to have international observers present, since this was seen as an explicit recognition of Mohawk sovereignty and nationhood, but eventually Quebec backed down and the preconditions, free access to Mohawks of food, medicine, spiritual and legal advisors plus the international observers, were signed. However, the agreements were broken almost before the ink had dried, and threats to call in either the RCMP or the Canadian Armed Forces followed close on the heels of talks that did begin. The federal government at this point refused to enter the talks, although land and sovereign claims by First Nations are technically under federal jurisdiction.

White residents from nearby communities grew rowdier each day, making their intentions perfectly clear by chanting racist slogans, burning effigies of Mohawks and calling for the army to intervene on the Mohawk lands. A group of about 100 broke away from the larger mob and threw rocks, bottles and molotov cocktails at police lines on the Mercier Bridge. Several prominent politicians and members of the media chimed in with vicious verbal attacks, and while there seemed to be no end to racist hostilities, these events were severely underreported. A Vancouver photo-journalist of Mexican heritage was beaten and had film destroyed, and on the streets of Montreal no person of colour would be naive enough to ask for police protection.

As talks were proceeding on the preconditions, Quebec issued an ultimatum to the Mohawks to dismantle the barricades within 48 hours. When the deadline passed, army troops were dispatched near the standoffs at both Kanesatake and Kahnawake at Quebec's request. The move was double-edged, clearly signaling that military invasion was possible "if talks fail," but also allowing the Mohawks a political if not physical distance from the SQ who were out for revenge. Some commentators speculated optimistically that the army threat was aimed at the white mobs.

By the middle of August, the preconditions were agreed upon and talks began between all parties, however, it soon became clear that the federal government had sent junior representatives with no mandate. Within days, both provincial and federal governments were leaving the negotiations, stating they had "lost patience."

Not only were the preconditions relating

to food, medicine and advisors almost immediately violated, but the observers from the Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights faced threats from the white racists as they travelled to and from the barricades.

As Quebec premier Bourassa was promising the white residents he would "look to other measures" to clear the Mercier Bridge, he told the observers that their safety could no longer be guaranteed. As they left, they issued a statement condemning the governments' failure to honour the preconditions and stating that the Mohawks were the only ones who treated them decently.

Tensions at the barricades were extremely high. The SQ never backed away even with the army presence, and the Mohawk appeal for SQ withdrawal met uncompromising denial from Quebec, which instead praised the police behaviour and accused the Mohawks of conducting a smear campaign. Finally during the last week of August, Bourassa made good his pledge to the white citizens and called for the army to dismantle the barricades at Kahnawake and Kanesatake.

It was then that racist mob rule reached incredibly ominous proportions. A convoy of 75 cars carrying mostly women, children and elderly people away from the besieged Kahnawake community was first held up interminably as police searched vehicles and demanded on-the-spot payment of outstanding parking tickets. A crowd of angry whites grew huge while evacuation routes were highly publicized by local radio stations, and two local breweries, Labatt's and Seagram's, let workers out early from their plants in the area. All the cars were then attacked by the racists, hurling concrete debris and large rocks while police — both SQ and RCMP — simply looked on. There were at least two serious injuries, and one man, Joe Armstrong, 71, met death by heart attack shortly after the attack, for which no charges will be laid. Even the most conservative commentators were aghast at the footage aired that night, and to our knowledge no officers have been even reprimanded for their complicity with the attack. A paltry nine arrests of the good white citizens were made over a month later.

Meanwhile, with the imminent threat of armed forces invasion at Kahnawake, the Mercier Bridge blockades were removed by the Mohawks and soldiers working together, since it had been promised that negotiations would continue when the sympathy barricade was down. But truly in keeping with the double-crossing standards already set, the governments did not honour their word. Army commanders held a press conference complete with videos detailing Mohawk positions and supposed arsenal at Kanesatake. On Saturday of the long weekend, the army advanced through Kanesatake and held most of the territory within hours. They were met with defiance but no gunfire, even after an impatient soldier fired the first shot in the air. About 50 Warriors, women and children retreated to and secured the Kanesatake Treatment Centre, a building under Federal jurisdiction. They remain there three weeks later, as we go to press. Mohawks trying to pass police checkpoints are arrested, tortured and beaten. The army surrounds the food bank, where around 100 women and children are gathered. (One memorable moment during the army advance: a soldier and a Warrior faced each other, taunting and threatening. A Mohawk woman came on the scene and told the Warrior to get away from the provocation, which he *did*. Imagining a white woman approaching a white member of the armed forces in a similar fashion verges on the absurd, or the absurdly dangerous.)

The army and the SQ made themselves at home occupying Kahnawake, and conducted a supremely provocative raid into the heart of the community, storming the Longhouse which is the traditional place of spiritual worship and decision-making. This was in

Cont'd. next page



In order to protect their land they had to learn to be fierce fighters.

Indians NA Iroquois

S-1524

The following is from the Leonard Peltier Defence Committee (Canada).

Governments of Canada and Quebec Declare War on Mohawk Nation and All Indigenous People

We, in true solidarity and respect for our relatives whose courageous life-threatening stand is for the SURVIVAL of their nation, ask all people world-wide to condemn the murderous military assault by governments against the Mohawk people.

The stand taken by the Mohawk Nation continues to be an act of self-defense which was in response to the July 11 Quebec government-initiated military assault with automatic weaponry, concussion grenades and tear gas fired on mainly women and children at Kanesatake.

Since this time, the governments of Quebec and Canada have orchestrated deliberate tactics of extreme provocation and psychological warfare in order to defeat the Mohawk people's demand for recognition of sovereignty as a distinct nation.

Racist non-Indian mobs incited by the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups is being used as a means to provoke violence amongst the people, while the Surete du Quebec and federal enforcers have through their inaction endorsed these acts of terrorism against the Mohawk nation, all aboriginal people and to all people who believe in justice and freedom for all.

At Kanesatake, intimidation and pressure tactics have been used against the people through numerous unjustified acts of aggression and beatings by the SQ, which throughout the past weeks have operated as an independent vigilante force seeking vengeance against the Mohawk people. In all cases the governments have been aware and have done nothing to stop these atrocities against the Mohawks and

hence all aboriginal people.

While seeking to starve and destroy the will and determination of the Mohawk people, (prime minister) Brian Mulroney has reduced the Mohawk Nation's demand for recognition of their rights as "bizarre." (Quebec premier) Robert Bourassa stated that the Mohawks are criminals and violators of the democratic process, justifying a military invasion with potential loss of life. What is not stated by Bourassa or Mulroney is the legitimacy of the traditional Longhouse governing institution of the Mohawks and other nations of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, which incorporates all the essential principles of democracy and on which the U.S. Constitution was, in part, modelled after.

We ask you to remember the many casualties as a result of the war waged by the U.S. Government against the American Indian Movement during the early 1970s. We ask you to remember the defenders of indigenous people throughout our history — from Sitting Bull and Louis Riel to the present 15-year false imprisonment of Leonard Peltier, who is an example of how conditions have not changed for Indian people.

We ask all people, in the name of humanity, to support true justice and denounce the governments whose motives today clearly indicate a historical pattern of genocide so that the economic order and process of resource exploitation is maintained at escalated rates and at great cost to the natural world and to all life.

Mohawks under seige, supplies cut off

cont'd. from previous page

apparent retaliation for an unarmed protest by women and children on the Mercier Bridge following the army capture of Kanesatake. At both the bridge protest and the Longhouse raid, women were beaten by soldiers using rifle butts and SQ, with at least two sent to hospital with fractures. The army and SQ conducted further raids with impunity, planting weapons in full view of the community and later displaying their "seizure."

Political leaders began to make themselves even scarcer than before. Bourassa went on a holiday to Florida. Prime Minister Mulroney surfaced every now and again to praise the army and condemn "terrorism." All formal talks were discontinued and with no illusion

of democracy left the army was given the sole mandate to "negotiate" the surrender of the Kanesatake holdouts. They proceeded to cut off all telecommunications, and to deny film and recording materials to the few journalists inside the Mohawk lines who remain after being told to get out. Various civil suits are pending on the legality of the entire operation, however, each day brings new provocations, which have still failed to bring gunfire from the Mohawks — the army's justification for a complete massacre.

As we go to press, we find that events are too immediate to do a more in-depth analysis at this time. However, we have few illusions left about what lengths the settler states will go to to put down a Native rebellion.

The following letter appeared in the Toronto Star, July 21, 1990.

Why should natives sacrifice a culture to industrial way?

People wonder why some of us natives never stand when *O Canada* is played. A short course in Canadian history would tell them why we don't.

The situation at Oka is just another instance in the genocidal Canadian policy toward its native people. In the July 1968 issue of the *National Geographic*, a Canadian administrator is quoted as saying that "The government can't say so but the plan is to equip them (the natives) to become Canadian and get lost." I can't think of a more explicit description of genocide.

There is a whole book devoted to the description of the effects of colonialism: *Victims of Progress* by John Bodley. It explains why native people can never expect to find a level playing field when dealing with grasping governments or their grasping business buddies. Even the "white" Laplanders are experiencing the same types of pressure from Scandinavian governments.

It is an old story and it doesn't start with the North American natives. During feudal times, the peasants were "owned" and treated accordingly by their lords and barons. During the Industrial Revolution, people were chained to machines in knee-

deep water for 12 to 14 hours a day and children as young as 10 were put into mines to haul coal through dark shafts.

It is estimated that world tribal populations were reduced by 30 to 50 million between 1780 and 1930 as a direct result of the spread of industrial civilization, according to Bodley.

Why should we native people follow a system which is so obviously lost. Industrial civilization doesn't even know if it has a future, but it insists that we must follow it.

Our native culture says that we should take for use only what we need. It says that we should not be proud of ourselves and take credit for our accomplishments since our lives and talents are all god-given gifts. It says that we have an obligation to keep things nice for the "coming faces." It says we must be kind to, respect and treat as equals, all other people, because we each have a different but equal spiritual pathway. It says to give thanks for all we have. Why must we be destroyed? What have we done?

Alex N. Jamieson
Hagersville, Ont.

Land thieves to face Native justice

by S. Harrison

From coast to coast, indigenous people continue their fight for land, culture, language, self-determination and dignity.

The Oka standoff provided an immediate opportunity to get media attention for these many struggles, and solidarity blockades of roads and rail lines were undertaken with regional and local concerns at the fore.

Land title battles ("claims") are taking place in virtually every region, and only 38 out of more than 500 have been settled (over 300 are in the province of British Columbia, covering 95% of the province) with the average "claim" taking over 20 years to settle. The Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs states that "while our Nations wait eternally to get to the negotiating table, the federal and provincial governments sanction repeated invasions of our traditional territories by multi-national resource corporations."

Some of the land struggles are:

The James Bay Cree are continuing their legal fight against a massive hydro project planned by Quebec.

The Peigan Lonefighters Society are trying to prevent the final stage of dam construction of Oldman River in Alberta and subsequent damage to the Peigan lands.

The Lubicon Cree have been fighting the Province of Alberta, the federal government and the oil companies (who steal over \$1 million in oil a day) to protect their small but precious traditional territory, under specific attack for the last 50 years.

The Innu people of Labrador (Nitassinan) are fighting NATO which flies 8,000 low-level military training flights a year, and wants to increase the number of flights to 16-18,000, destroying the Innu way of life.

The Haida of the coastal islands have won some landmark battles against the province of British Columbia, and the Gitskan-Wet'su'wetan are organizing a massive title battle in the interior of the province.

The Teme-Augama Anishnabe in Ontario are fighting logging companies for the last old-growth pines in the country on their traditional lands. ∞

Extracts from the sovereignty position of the Kanienkahaka (Mohawk Nation) Territory of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy

Presented to the Government of Canada, Province of Quebec and the International Human Rights Federation, August 20, 1990

"We will place at the top of the tree of great peace an eagle, who is able to see afar. If he sees in the distance any danger threatening, he will at once warn the people of the Confederacy."

From the Great Law of Peace

GREAT LAW OF PEACE

The Haudenosaunee Six Nations people have long had their own organized government and society, greatly preceding the arrival of the Europeans who, along with their descendants, assumed by usurpation authority of this part of the world. The government and society is exercised according to the culture, ways, traditions, and constitution of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations people.

The Great Law of Peace is the Constitution of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, which is composed of the following nations from east to west: Kanienkahaka, (Mohawk Nation), Oneida Nation, Onondaga Nation, Cayuga Nation, Seneca Nation and Tuscarora Nation. It is the traditional Great Law of Peace that prevails in the territory of the Kanienkahaka (Mohawk Nation), which has a right to operate without any interference from any foreign government or nation.

Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, of which the Kanienkahaka (Mohawk Nation) is a part, meets the fundamental requirements of nationhood:

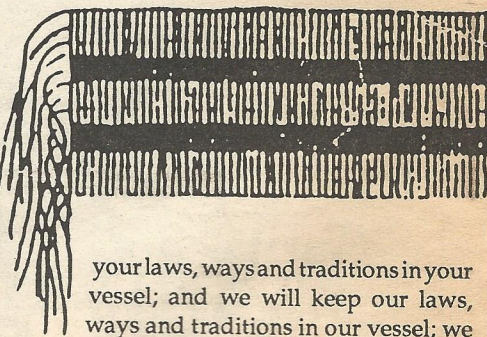
- a) having a permanent population
- b) having a definite territory
- c) having a government
- d) having the ability to enter into relations with other nations

Like the constitutions of many nations in the world, the Great Law of Peace includes the following:

- a) the principle objectives of political life
- b) a definition of the main institutions of government
- c) a definition of the division of powers
- d) a definition of the relationship between governments and the people

TWO ROW WAMPUM BELT AGREEMENT

The Two Row Wampum is an agreement whereby two nations co-exist and travel the River of Life in peace and friendship. In a comprehensive manner it is at once a social, political and constitutional relationship. It can be summarized as follows: "You keep



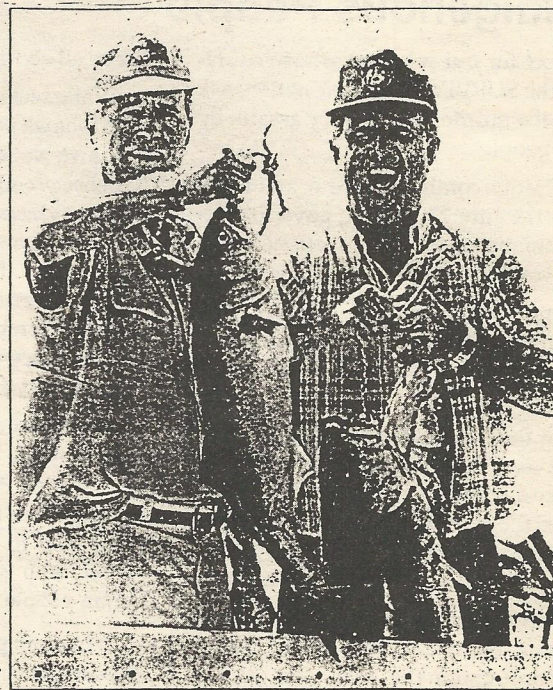
your laws, ways and traditions in your vessel; and we will keep our laws, ways and traditions in our vessel; we will travel the River of Life side by side in parallel paths (two rows) which never meet, in peace and friendship, never interfering with one another." Legally, it means that each of the two nations retains its own respective laws and constitution, and maintains its own respective jurisdiction. Neither of the two nations can apply or impose its laws over the other.

The Two Row Wampum Belt Agreement has its roots in the arrival of the Europeans across the great water to this continent. It became clear to our people that the Europeans had brought a different way. We, the people of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, saw how they acted toward each other, toward the land and everything that was on it. We saw that it was different from what we were instructed in our way under the Great Law of Peace. We realized that it was not possible to bring these nations (the Dutch, French, English and later the American) under the wing of the Confederacy and the Great Law. Something had to be done. Therefore an agreement was drawn up by which two peoples could live in peace and friendship.

The first people with which the Two Row Wampum Belt Agreement was drawn up was the Dutch. With each succeeding European people — the French, the English, the Americans, etc. — the Two Row Wampum principle was followed by our people. An early recording by the Europeans of the Two Row principle was the Treaty of Fort Albany of 1664.

The Two Row Wampum Belt Agreement, in terms of government, calls for the two nations to deal with each other as equals; it calls for separate jurisdictions of the two nations. Neither the Six Nations nor the Dutch, neither the Six Nations nor the French, neither the Six Nations nor the English, neither the Six Nations nor the Ameri-

First Nations grant limited fishing rights to non-natives — settlers grateful



artistic response appearing on Toronto streets

cans, neither the Six Nations nor the British Colonial Dominion of Canada, were to make laws or force our respective ways on each other. We were to live in peace and friendship, fully respecting each others' rights to exercise one's own jurisdiction and sovereignty. The relationships were etched in the minds of our forefathers, and it is etched in the minds of our people today.

SOVEREIGNTY

The sovereignty of the Kanienkahaka (Mohawk Nation) is not only rooted in the traditions of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy — The Great Law of Peace, the Two Row Wampum, etc. — it is also rooted in history, in the actions of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations people:

"...they called themselves a free people ... the country was still theirs ... and whomever should undertake to go further on the subject with them, must have a good army at his back ..." (Johnson, the year 1767. NYCD 7:958.)

"As for the Six Nations having acknowledged

themselves subjects of the English, that I conclude must be a very gross mistake and am well satisfied were they told so, they would not be well pleased. I know I would not venture to treat them as subjects unless there was resolution to make war upon them, which is not very likely to happen, but I believe they would on such an attempt, very soon resolve to cut our throats." (General Gage, October 7, 1772. SWJP 12:995.)

The people of Kanienkahaka are citizens of the Kanientahaka (Mohawk Nation), and of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy. We are not citizens of Quebec, Ontario or Canada, nor have we ever regarded ourselves as such. We have our own constitution, the Great Law of Peace, and we belong to our Nation and our Confederacy.

INTERNATIONAL INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

The Kanienkahaka has rights under international law and in the international community of nations. By its very existence, the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy has institutions and constitution, with the fundamental rights to use and occupy our original lands.

Also, European biases in interpretation of the rights of aboriginal and indigenous people under international law have finally come to be corrected in the twentieth century, beginning with the international Conference Against the Discrimination of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas in Geneva, 1977. This conference produced the "Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere." In accordance with Article 7 of the Declaration:

"No state shall assert or claim to exercise any right of jurisdiction over any indigenous nation or group or the territory of such indigenous nation or group unless pursuant to a valid treaty or other agreement freely made with the lawful representatives of the indigenous nation or group concerned. All actions on the part of any state which derogate from the indigenous nation's or group's right to exercise self-determination shall be the proper concern of existing international bodies."

It is the position of the Kanienkahaka (Mohawk Nation) that no jurisdiction over the Kanienkahaka shall ever be ceded to

Canada (or the United States). The only agreement that can ever be made freely with the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy is one that is in accordance with the Two Row Wampum Belt Agreement.

Canada is a member of the United Nations and sworn to uphold its principles. The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 1948. Article 15 provides for the following:

- 1) Everyone has the right to a nationality or the right to change his nationality.
- 2) No one may be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality or be denied the right to change his nationality.

Haudenosaunee Six Nations people have rights accorded every people in the world; the right to our nationality, the right of our nation and confederacy to exist, and the right to an area of government and society. Ours is the strongest natural legal right known to humans: the aboriginal right.

In San Francisco, 1945, the following statement was issued.

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save the succeeding generations from the scourges of war ... and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ... and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for law can be maintained ... do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations."

The following is from the Great Law of Peace, the Constitution of the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, which provided for a United Nations long before the Europeans came to this continent:

"I am Deganawidah and with the Five Nations (later Six Nations) Rotiyaner, I plant the Tree of Great Peace ... Roots have spread out from the Tree of Great Peace ... The name of these roots is The Great White Roots and their nature is Peace and Strength. If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition ... they may trace the Roots to the Tree if their minds are clean ... they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of Long Leaves."

CANADA'S VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

The process of recognizing indigenous rights is now an ongoing process with the annual meeting, every summer, of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, under the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. The Working Group which is a permanent international institution has for example been examining the crisis between our nation which came to the world's attention through the S.Q. attack on the pines on July 11/90. (*The Working Group condemned Canada, ed.*)

We call upon Canada to consider its violent nature, as it inevitably must continue to lead to the kind of confrontation we find ourselves in now and wish to avoid in the future.

We confirm the wisdom of the Canadian people who support the rights of our black, yellow and brown brothers and sisters around the world to own and govern totally their own homelands. That wisdom must now be extended to the Kanienkahaka people.

If Canada fails in its wisdom to grow, and answers us again with its police or military we, the Kanienkahaka (Mohawks) **will and must** defend our homeland and our people. That is required under our law. This must be understood by Canada and the Canadian people. ∞

Solidarity with Mohawks gives state new troubles

by Jim Campbell

The summer of 1990 will long be remembered as the beginning of new relations between First Nations and the Canadian and Quebec settler governments. Across the continent and around the world, there have been many demonstrations of support for the Mohawk stand. Canada, which is seen throughout so much of the world as being in the forefront in the fight for human rights elsewhere has been revealed for what it is — just another state looking after the corporate interests.

Every day since the standoff began, aboriginal people's fight for justice is high on the media agenda, even as much goes unreported. Faster than you can say Kanesatake, meetings on land disputes and other issues have taken place between Canadian state functionaries and First Nations representatives. Whether the federal and provincial governments will begin negotiating land claims seriously will be one of the factors by which the summers' struggles will be judged.

Everyone — the state, the corporations, the first nations, the police and army — is well aware that there are literally thousands and thousands of miles of virtually undefendable natural gas pipelines, electrical power lines, railroads and highways crossing native territory. Much of the national economy is dependent upon resource extraction and massive power projects within the territories of the first nations. The toppling of 5 electrical pylons on a Chippewa reserve in agricultural and industrial southwestern Ontario, causing an estimated \$750,000

damage, was a clear warning as to what might happen in much more remote parts of the country. First Nations in northern Ontario simultaneously blockaded the only two east-west railroads for over a week, effectively cutting the country in half. (One barricade was simply a set of jumper cables closing the circuit between one track and another.) Short disruptions on the Trans-Canada Highway — the only highway for hundreds of miles — through the same area drove home the point. At least three wooden railway bridges have been burnt across the country.

These lessons have not been lost on the state. The absolute refusal to negotiate with the Mohawks, the efforts of the army in attempting to inflict a humiliating defeat on them while at the same time not creating martyrs around which other nations would rally, shows the thin line being walked by the state in trying to keep things under control.

Nor have the first nations stood alone in this struggle. Non-natives have re-

sponded to the situation with unprecedented levels of support for native grievances. The politicians, whom nobody believes any more any way, and the police with their arrogance and abuse, were no match in the battle for the hearts and minds of Canadians compared to the articulate and passionate spokespeople for both the Mohawks and other First Nations. (Needless to say, we don't see as many native people in the media any more.) Non-natives assisted the first nations in their blockades and set up their own information barricades on city streets and bridges across the country. Support ranged from people gathering food in their own neighbourhoods for delivery to condemnations of the government, police and army by unions, churches, peace groups, women's groups, human rights organizations and writers amongst others. The government even had to respond to what they called this well-spring of support for legitimate native grievances

by saying that such people confused the "legitimate" demands of the first nations with the specific demands of the Mohawk Warriors.

One of the more interesting efforts at solidarity occurred when some Ojibwas barricaded the railroads through northern Ontario. The local railway workers were laid off when the trains quit running. But rather than condemning the blockades, they threatened to block the alternative rail route through the U.S., and did block the Trans-Canada Highway briefly, calling for the government to begin serious negotiations with all the First Nations.

Their union made the same demand as they threatened to call a national wild cat strike if there were any more blockades. The Ojibwas, in turn, demanded that the workers be paid for their lost time.

There is no doubt that the threat of sabotage of the infrastructure by the First Nations combined with the support and solidarity of non-Natives was a factor in limiting the state's ability to use more force than they have up to now. And the wave of Native militancy across the country — there have been more than 40 blockades of roads and railways in BC. alone — will have to be taken into consideration by the state and the apparatus of repression. But the total disregard for the law shown by the governments, the army and the police, along with the speedy removal of fundamental human rights, such as the right to assembly, the right to free movement, shows also what can be expected anywhere in Canada if anyone — native or non-native — challenges the way things are. ∞

Peace Camp harassed

A peace camp was set up just outside Oka after the army moved in on Kanesatake; natives and non-natives from across North America were asked by the people in the Treatment Centre to show their support at this gathering. From the moment it began, the police and army harassed this well-attended vigil. Everyone was stopped, searched and interrogated as they came through road blocks up to 6 miles away from the camp. Helicopters hovered directly overhead at night, making sleep impossible, and food and water supplies were cut off sporadically. During the second week of a powerful and well-publicized gathering (television and radio journalists unable to report from Kanesatake quickly went to the camp), the police began to prevent new arrivals, and eventually moved in making 6 arrests as they shut down the protest.

A distinct society faces a distinct challenge: Mohawks in Quebec

by S. Harrison

The standoff between Mohawks and the Canadian armed forces at Oka, Quebec is taking place within another sovereignty claim — that of the French in Canada. Twenty years ago, the same man who brought the troops in on the Mohawks, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, called them in on militant Quebec separatists, the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ), after the FLQ kidnapped a British Consul and a provincial cabinet minister. The fervor of Quebec nationalism culminated in a 1980 referendum which narrowly defeated the sovereignty position. Since that time, Canadian federalism has faced a challenge from Quebec that was not formally debated until the Meech Lake Accord was devised in 1987 by Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Bourassa. The main idea was to bring Quebec into the Canadian constitution by establishing the concept of "two founding peoples" of Canada and recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society". Native organizations and women's groups outside Quebec mostly opposed the accord, on the grounds that constitutional protection for their constituencies would be eroded by Quebec's ability to then use a special clause to exempt itself from the federal Charter of Rights. Most everyone else snoozed and figured whatever it was about it was supposed to take our minds off something else. But the federal government persisted in trying to ram the accord through, and by 1990 it was supported by all provinces except Newfoundland and Manitoba.

Enter Elijah Harper, a Cree-Ojibwa member of the Manitoba Legislature, who scuttled the whole deal by simply preventing a vote in the provincial legislature from taking place. Because of federal deadlines, the accord died in June of 1990. The public woke up. The English-language media quickly tried to wish Elijah Harper out of existence, and the Prime Minister was rumoured to have gone on a bender. (It is worth noting that Elijah Harper's nephew was J.J. Harper, a respected activist shot and killed by Winnipeg Police a couple years ago. The officer was cleared of any wrongdoing.)

The Quebec ruling elite, meanwhile, was not too happy with Elijah Harper or any other uppity natives. Top-ranking officials were quoted in daily newspapers saying that native people couldn't expect any further "support" from Quebec. So when the mayor of the resort town of Oka near Montreal wanted to expand a 9-hole golf course onto the traditional Mohawk territory including an ancestral burial site adjacent to the Kanesatake lands, unleashing racial hatred in the wake of the

failed SQ raid on the barricades, it was hard not to suspect revenge.

Cree lands under attack

The economic base for Quebec as a separate nation rests heavily on hydroelectric power exports — from the waters of James Bay which is the territory of the Cree and Algonquin Nations. Aboriginal people have laid

claim to about eighty-five per cent of the province of Quebec. "If they want to pull out with fifteen per cent of the land, we'll let them go," says the Grand Chief of the Huron-Wendat Nation in Quebec. "Most of that fifteen per cent is already polluted anyway." The Cree also maintain that their sovereignty was never surrendered and they plan to fight Quebec all the way in its attempt to flood the traditional lands for its massive hydro project. The first phase of the James Bay project, completed in the mid-seventies, has already severely disrupted the Cree way of life and resulted in an ecological catastrophe.

Bourassa, the premier of Quebec, has been eagerly flogging the power to the northeastern U.S. from the soon-to-be-started James Bay II, which is billed as the biggest engineering project in the world.

Quebec ruling interests, however, should not obscure the role of the rest of Canada for its abysmal relations with First Nations. The interests of Euro-Canada demand that they stop at nothing to feed the greedy coffers of the corporate state. Canada and Quebec are in complete partnership when it comes to keeping aboriginal people down. ∞



Members of the Peigan Lonefighters celebrating a victory in their fight to prevent dam construction.

HIV+ Prisoner Harassed in Montreal

Pierre Maltais, an HIV+ prisoner, is being held in isolation at Archambault, a maximum-security penitentiary in Quebec. He was encouraged to be tested for HIV after he was incarcerated at Parthenais Detention Centre in Feb/1989. He tested positive, and because of that was placed against his will in the infirmary and denied the rights accorded most prisoners: he was allowed to shower only three times each week, denied access to a TV, had no table on which to eat or write, and allowed only infrequent access to a washing machine. Perhaps worst of all, he was transported to and from the courthouse in special convoys meant for prisoners in need of special protection. This in turn put his life in danger whenever he met with other prisoners, who now had reason to believe that he was a child molester or a police agent. He was approached by guards only after they gloved up, so as not to "catch AIDS". On top of all this, his HIV status was made known to the prisoners in general population, making a mockery of his right to privacy.

Despite the fact that the prison administration had segregated him from other prisoners because of his antibody status, the medical staff took the opposite approach. Because Pierre was simply HIV+ and so far asymptomatic, they felt that he required no special consideration or medical treatment. Information about HIV and about treatments was not offered to him. All that he learnt about the virus and its effects he learned himself so that he inevitably came to know more than the prison doctor.

Pierre was not the only HIV+ prisoner in the Parthenais infirmary. On July/24/89, Pierre along with Sylvain Danny and Yves Char-

bonneau initiated a 3-day hunger strike demanding changes to their conditions, appropriate medical care, and an end to forced segregation. The strike made the local papers and got them a promise of "improvements" from the administration. The improvements were very slow in coming. By the time they did arrive Pierre was the only HIV+ prisoner remaining at the Parthenais infirmary.

The improvements were minor, since the administrators were merely attempting to avoid further embarrassment, not to create real changes in attitudes. This can be seen in the treatment Pierre received during one of the frequent "overpopulation crises" at Parthenais, during which he was transferred from the 10th floor (infirmary) to the 4th floor (for prisoners in need of "special protection") and back again every day. This harassment ended only after a phone blitz by local AIDS activists.

Pierre was found guilty of armed robbery in Nov/1989. Despite his resolve to do street education about AIDS and work to set up a halfway house for HIV+ prisoners in Montreal, he was sentenced to more than 7 years. The crown appealed, viewing this sentence as "too lenient". Pierre began plans to appeal for a compassionate release. Pending both appeals, he was to start serving time at the Centre Federal de Formation, just north of Montreal. At the CFF, a medium security pen, he was kept in general population, allowed to participate in a training program, and allowed access to a Montreal physician who has some knowledge of HIV infection. He started taking AZT, a drug believed to fight the progression of HIV infection in some people.

Pierre's situation took a sharp turn for the worse in April of 1990, when he was found in possession of contraband: a container of alcohol. On the way to the hole, a "scuffle" broke out between Pierre and a guard. Pierre maintains that this "scuffle" started when the guard shoved him, and never went beyond his informing the guard that he would smash his face in if he didn't leave him alone.

Pierre pleaded guilty to possession of alcohol at a disciplinary hearing and spent several days in the hole. He then once again went before the tribunal, this time for the alleged bashing. The guard claimed that not only had he been hit, but that Pierre had threatened to bite him, to "give you my virus so that you'll get yours". This is a now-familiar refrain in the persecution of HIV+ prisoners, despite the fact that is completely ludicrous since it has been shown that no significant amount of HIV is carried in saliva.

Although acquitted of the assault and never actually tried for threatening to bite, Pierre was nevertheless informed that on the basis of the alleged threat, the administration was initiating procedures to have him transferred to a maximum security pen. Although given 2 weeks in which to launch an appeal (which would have cost him at least \$500), after about a week Pierre was informed that he would be transferred to Archambault (far away from his physician) in a matter of hours. The aura of guilt accompanying his transfer has dealt a serious blow to his request for compassionate release.

When Pierre arrived at Archambault on May 20, 1990, he was assaulted by prisoners

Donations are urgently needed to help pay for the costs of the siege of the Mohawk communities. Donations can be sent to:

Defense Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty
c/o Bread and Roses Credit Union
348 Danforth Avenue, #211
Toronto, Ont M4K 1N8

who were aware that he was HIV+ (how one can only guess, although he has appeared on television several times). The guards intervened after a while, and he was placed in segregation. Since that time, Pierre has been denied access to a telephone, and people attempting to visit him have been given a run-around. He has also been denied a low-fat diet, despite liver problems, and has been beaten in his cell by rubber-clad guards. He is allowed to see the prison doctor only once a week, and has been able to keep in touch with his support network only by mail, which is subject to censorship. The prison director claims that guards are afraid of being bitten, and some claim that Pierre has already made such threats, thus he is now in permanent segregation.

The Montreal AIDS Committee has been noticeably silent during this entire affair. They feel that they should "support HIV+ prisoners", but this seems to be only on their own middle class terms. This means that they do not trust people who are behind bars. They have refused to provide financial aid to Pierre, despite the fact that he needs money for a lawyer. The AIDS activist organizations in Montreal have offered only sporadic aid to Pierre. ACT-UP Montreal is preoccupied with

Continued on back cover

Tribunal Bound

Bulldozer has followed with interest — and participated in some of — the debate around Freedom Now! (FN!). We were greatly shocked at the news that our long-time comrades Bill Dunne and Larry Giddings had been dropped from the 2nd edition of *Can't Jail The Spirit*. However, Larry did apply to FN!'s Dossier Committee for review, and his case has now been accepted. Although Bill's case is almost identical with that of Larry (they were arrested together), Bill has declined to apply for review and has instead articulated many sharp differences with FN! While we support Bill's right to dissent, and indeed appreciate his often sharp political explications of problems with FN!'s approach and methods, unlike Bill we have been satisfied with some of FN's responses and are thus taking this opportunity to make known our own position vis-a-vis FN! and the December Tribunal.

We would like to note that our present position was developed largely through our correspondence with Larry Giddings, as well as through some direct communication with both individuals in FN!'s National Office and some of our anti-authoritarian comrades in the anti-prison movement in North America.

Although *Bulldozer* will not become a formal member of FN! or the Tribunal (and this is perhaps due as much to the administrative and logistical difficulties stemming from our physical location in Canada as from our political position), we are in support of the Campaign for Amnesty for Political Prisoners in the U.S. If FN! is successful in effecting the release of even a few of the Puerto Rican POWs (whose case has long been recognized by the United Nations Decolonization Committee), it will have achieved some victories. We recognize that FN! will have to make some compromises in order to obtain the widespread liberal support necessary for the success of the Campaign on the international level.

However, while recognizing such *legalistic* necessities, we will continue to affirm our commitment to the development of a broad-based and ideologically diverse anti-prison movement, and this is where we will continue to direct the bulk of our energies. We will continue to struggle with FN! and others in the anti-prison movement to develop and articulate their support of social prisoners and their opposition to prisons both in concept and institution. In particular, we would like to see FN! recognizing, in a *moral* if not legal sense, the legitimacy as political prisoners those social prisoners who have become politicized while inside the walls and who have been punished for their organizing efforts behind bars.

Even if FN! was completely successful in achieving its goal of amnesty for the PPs/POWs on its list, it would not change the conditions faced by the vast majority of prisoners — social prisoners, politicized social prisoners and any PPs/POWs left behind. In South Africa, thousands of PPs/POWs remained behind, forgotten, while the world celebrated the release of Nelson Mandela. Recently in Chile, the government released many PPs of the old defeated military regime, but refused to release anyone convicted of armed actions. For us, FN! can become an important initiative for the movement, but it should, by no means, become the primary focus. The problem is with prisons themselves, not that some people are held for political reasons.

For the purposes of the Tribunal, *Bulldozer*, along with other anti-prison groups in Toronto and elsewhere, are working with Giddings, who is currently being held at Leavenworth. By doing so, we hope to make more visible the anti-authoritarian tendency

within the broader Political Prisoner/POW support/anti-prison movement. We do so, not to be divisive or sectarian. There are many different political movements in North America. They are both united and divided on many different racial, social, sexual and ideological grounds. Many of them are united by having brothers and sisters inside for their politics. By working together, either through specific organizations and campaigns like FN!, or within a much broader anti-prison movement, we will come closer to the goal of freeing our comrades while at the same time working to destroy the prison systems that are like festering sores on the body politic. No single ideology, no single politic, no single movement will reflect all of the political aspirations within North America. The anti-prison movement is in a unique position to reflect the diversity of North America. By respecting this diversity while learning to work together towards common ends, we can help advance all our struggles. ∞

Build the International Tribunal to Free American Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

From the Resistance Conspiracy 6:

On December 7-10, 1990, at Hunter College in New York City, the first International Tribunal on Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War will be held before a panel of renowned international jurists. Co-sponsored by Hunter's Department of Black and Puerto Rican Studies, this activity is being convened by a broad grouping of human rights activists and organizations from the religious and progressive communities. The Tribunal will focus on exposing the violations of human rights of U.S. political prisoners all over the world. We hope you will support and attend activities designed

to publicize and build for the Tribunal, such as a literary reading by many noted authors which will occur at the New York Ethical Culture Society on October 24 or 25 in Manhattan. Most importantly, we urge you to attend the Tribunal itself; it will provide a unique opportunity for education and organizing around political prisoners/POW's. For information, contact:

Dr. Luis Nieves Falcon
Tribunal Office
24 E. 116th St.
New York, NY 10029. ∞

FN! Still Not So Free With Answers

by Bill Dunne

In the last issue of *PNS*, there appeared an article entitled, "Freedom Now! For Political Prisoners and POW's in the US" by Vicki Legion of FN!. Beside it appeared an article by me entitled "R.S.V.P. FN!" that raised several questions about FN!'s practice. Due to the vagaries of communication between this dark concrete corner and the outside, I can't tell if the latter was seen by FN! prior to the writing of the former. However, with the possible exception of the first question, all were previously made in *PNS* in various forms and in other forums as well as being written directly to FN!.

for Women, not lionizing its opponents. The effectiveness of their work should be their reward. (Is this a sample of FN! partisanship?) FN's participation in such events is commendable, as is its intent in its other public relations efforts. As Alan Berkman noted, the FN Urgent Action Network helped save his life. It is obvious that people involved in FN have made a serious commitment to their work. The history of FN in Vicki's article was interesting, too.

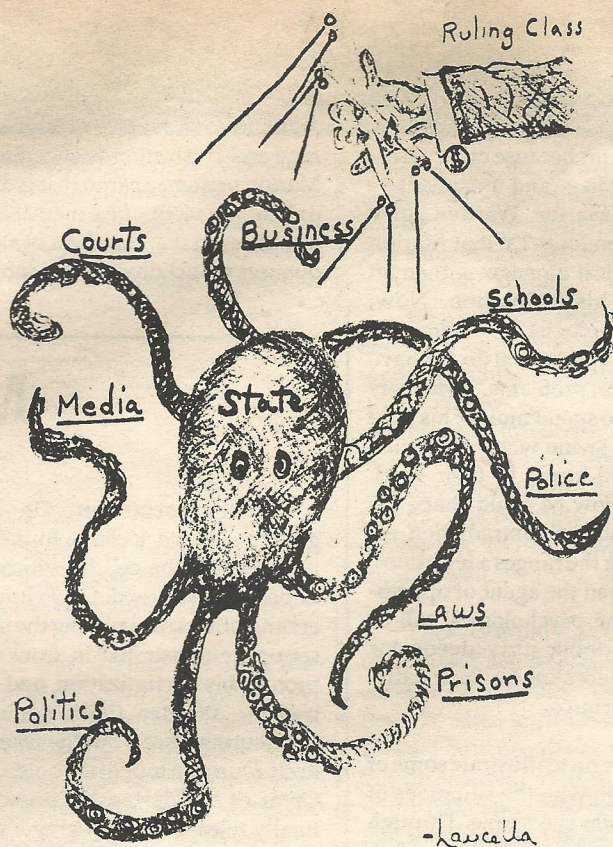
Nevertheless, the questions about FN's practice still remain. The absence of answers

argument was necessary. (The goals were given as: "to conduct widespread educational work about the existence of political prisoners in the US; to argue for their amnesty; to protect their human rights; and to internationalize their struggle.") What documentation? FN's own "application" forms were apparently insufficient, as were previous statements already in CJTS. FN did not see fit to publish the real criteria or notify anyone deleted until after the fact. Nor does Vicki say anything about the POW definition, though FN is obviously using one. So the definitional question remains unanswered. FN has elsewhere acknowledged error and resultant injury to others in this regard, but claims to owe no apologies and still operates in the secrecy that gave rise to those errors.

Vicki runs down a number of FN activities in pursuit of the above goals, but does not say how they were decided upon. Evidence suggests that they were decreed from the top of the shadowy FN hierarchy on the assumption that people there know what's best for the political prisoner constituency. If political prisoners have any input at all, it is apparently limited to some high profile few with whom FN operators have particular connection — hardly a democratic way of dealing! How does FN know that the people in whose name it is soliciting money think that what FN is doing with both their names and money is the best use of those resources? What were the "several hundred dollars each month" of phone calls about? All of that indicates that the questions of representation, accountability, organization and process with respect to FN's *raison d'être* also remain unanswered. These need to be answered *before* FN can effectively do anything else.

Similarly, the other questions raised in "R.S.V.P. FN!" of which FN! is or should be aware remain unanswered. Vicki seems to be trying to absolve FN of its own shortcomings with her closing section, "Hard Road". Well, no-one said it would be easy. Adversity may explain shortcomings and make them understandable, but it doesn't justify them — and especially does not excuse failure to admit or correct them. Vicki's criticisms of *Through The Wire* displayed little tolerance for even minor shortcomings.

In the interest of rectification, these matters should be aired. A lot of people are afraid of and shun things that bump and grind in the darkness. Turning the light on may be momentarily painful, but it is the only solution. So c'mon, FN! R.S.V.P.! ∞



Vicki spends about 30% of her lengthy article stating the issue. Yes, the issue of political prisoners is an important one that, after long neglect, is gaining increasing currency. Presumably, everyone who reads *PNS* but the prison censors is thrilled at the activity and consciousness that is being generated — especially around more-than-rhetorical activities like the Mandela tour and showings of the film *Through The Wire*. (And what is the lengthy denigration of "serious weaknesses" and "shortcomings" in the film? Aside from being out of context, the film was supposed to be about the Lexington Control Unit

for them undermines FN!'s effectiveness — something that is not only important to FN organizers and associates.

Vicki writes that the definition of political prisoner that FN used was: "those imprisoned for their political actions and beliefs in pursuit of social justice and/or national liberation". If that were the case, then the deletions from *Can't Jail The Spirit* couldn't have been made. Vicki apparently tries to explain that with the contention that in order to achieve FN's goals "through documentation and very professional presentation" of FN's

The Marionette

Number 50 July-August 1990

Another Look At The Lockdown

by Bill Dunne

In April, Susan Lehman, a former civil rights and criminal defense lawyer who now writes about law, crime and entertainment, visited USP Marion and interviewed a number of prisoners and staff members. She followed up with letters soliciting more information from the prisoners and others — the only journalist in memory to do so. Despite a few minor errors of fact, the resulting article in *Wigwag* magazine was likely the best article on the lockdown and its effects to have appeared in the mainstream media.

Ms Lehman starts out noting that society has progressed in penology from heads on sticks, burning at the stake, flogging, blinding, etc. She goes on to make it clear, however, that the isolation, brutality, privation, lack of human contact and idleness that has been inflicted on USP Marion prisoners for almost eight years is not much of a step up. Indeed, it is a retreat from past progress, the isolation model of imprisonment having been observed as far back as the 1860s to drive prisoners crazy — something at least then recognized as undesirable.

Ms Lehman reports that Marion Warden John Clark says Marion is here to help prisoners — but only to be better prisoners at other prisons. And even that is not the result. Marion administrators repeated to her the same ol' tired, discredited propaganda about the Marion lockdown starting out as only the last resort response to an emergency in Oct/83 and now housing solely "the worst of the worst". Despite the demonstrable falsity of both contentions, the second is spreading rapidly as justification for increasing repression. For example, an official at California's Marion counterpart used the terminology in justifying it.

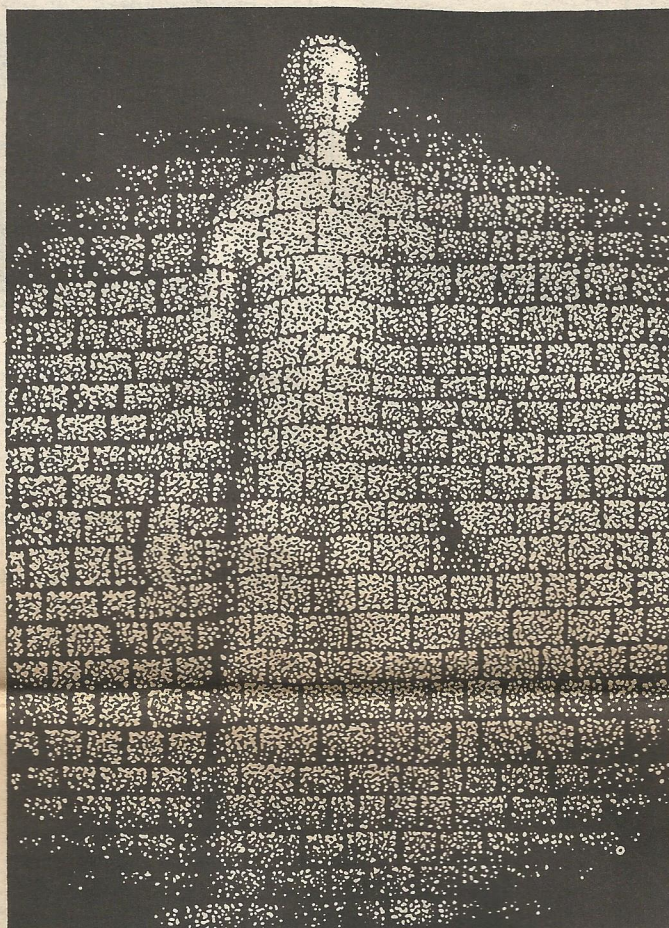
The *Wigwag* article did reveal a new official admission, a twist on the old line: the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) had "toyed" with lockdown as early as 1978 but that it was only a contingency until supposedly necessitated by events of 1983. Perhaps by the time Marion's replacement at Florence, CO, is finished, they'll be around to admitting the truth: that the lockdown was planned and that the "toying" in 1978 was actually paving the road to it. Maybe the swine's old repertoire just started getting too many laughs and a big brother/1984 revision of the official version was in order.

Revealed, too, was the callous attitude of officialdom about the psychological impact of Marion lockdown on prisoners. It would be expected that the BOP would deny any

Resources for Prisoners

Bayou La Rose, 302 N. "J" St. #3, Tacoma, WA 98403 recently published a very comprehensive listing. Write away for it.

We left off the address for *Profane Existence* last time. Write: *Profane Existence*, POB 8722, Minneapolis, MN 55408.



psychological problems because otherwise it would have to provide — and document — treatment. Former Marion Warden Jerry Williford admitted on local TV that Marion results in psychological damage — then an acceptable cost in his estimation. Now, however, staff psychologist Dr. Dominick Oliverio claims that "[prisoners] do not have ongoing psychological problems." Prisoners don't, but he claims to spend most of his time counseling the poor swine who suffer such grievous tension and stress in their work abusing prisoners. How he could shape his face to utter such an absurd contradiction, especially after walking the ranges a few times, was not revealed. Even the agent of oppression syndrome — the psychological toll of forever knowingly doing dirty deeds for money — could not account for such a disparity between the groups.

Ms Lehman goes on to illustrate some of the realities of Marion with the situations of the prisoners to whom she spoke. Through them, she was able to demonstrate and further explore the fact that not all of the people at Marion are the "rotten apples" alleged by the staff. Outside reviews have shown that many Marion prisoners don't fit the purported criteria. They also showed the extent to which Marion does exact a mental price, one that is recognized by some of its victims and merely apparent in others. There are some geeks at Marion, but even the worst of those Ms Lehman was able to reveal as not totally beyond the pale of humanity. The administration would have us believe all Marion prisoners are irrevocably nasty. The interaction additionally exposed that on top of these things a substantial cargo of hatred,

rage and frustration is engendered in many Marion prisons, a cargo that is dangerous not only to the victim prisoners. Her interviews also showed that the effect of all these consequences of lockdown is rendered even more

destabilizing by attacking family and community ties — isolating people externally as well as internally. People without connections to others don't have a connection to consciousness of or respect for community norms, either.

The article raised the important point of the racial disparity in the use of Marion, providing yet another illustration of the racism in the criminal justice institution. Black and other third world people are disproportionately consigned to the American Gulag Archipelago and are disproportionately consigned to Marion from it. All Marion prisoners, with rare exception, are poor and proletarian. No savings and loan swindlers or inside traders make it to dungeon Marion, the far greater destruction they wreak notwithstanding.

At \$93 per day per prisoner, more than twice the federal average, Marion is an expensive failure, a counterproductive monument to the simplistic macho attitude that force and domination is the solution to everything. Lehman is the only mainstream writer to explicitly derive from the obvious evidence that, though Marion staff doesn't like to say so, they have given up on their charges. It is that dehumanization that allows Marion to be used as a laboratory for destructive experimentation in social manipulation and control. Ms Lehman concludes: "This is the only country that can afford to waste resources in this way." A tactful summation for a situation that transcends mere waste. ∞

Marionnotes

POW PERSECUTION: On 30/May/90, guards claimed to have found a knife and two keys in the cell to which POW Oscar Lopez was assigned. On 7/Jul/90, supporters and others recognizing the injustice of the set-up demonstrated in front of Marion to protest his victimization and demand his transfer. Warden Clark denied politically persecuting Oscar, but the record speaks for itself. During a tour of the hole, Clark accused Oscar of slandering his prison. Oscar was finally released from segregation earlier this month, but will have to start his indeterminate sentence to Marion over.

NEW RULE: On 9/Jul/90, swine instigated by the new guard Captain, started insisting that prisoners stand for the 4 p.m. count. The only reason the captain would give for this was that it is done in every other federal prison. When asked if that meant we'd soon be getting contact visits, meals in the chow hall and other things they do in other prisons, the big general could only say that this was different.

OTHER NEW RULE: Apparently for career advancement, new Associate Warden Col-

lins has decided to decree a dress code for female visitors. They must now wear bras (whose gonna be checking?) and can't wear shorts, too-short skirts, culottes, spandex attire, see-through blouses, or t-shirts with "disruptive" stuff on 'em. The rationale for this rule at this time in a prison where few people visit at a time in non-contact, glass and phone booths was not explained. Presumably, men can wear it all; guards and the AW himself have been known to sport such attire!

SCHIZO SWINE: Extending into July, harassment of prisoners in the pre-release program was escalated in order to "bump off" (the transfer list) some due to decreases in work available in the sweat shop. Slow downs and lock downs and accusations over alleged "findings" escalated. Suddenly, the tack changed. Swine told some people that the length of time in the pre-transfer unit would be cut by one-third, from a year to eight months. Perhaps the 12% increase in the Marion population since April had something to do with it. Whether it is true remains to be seen. ∞

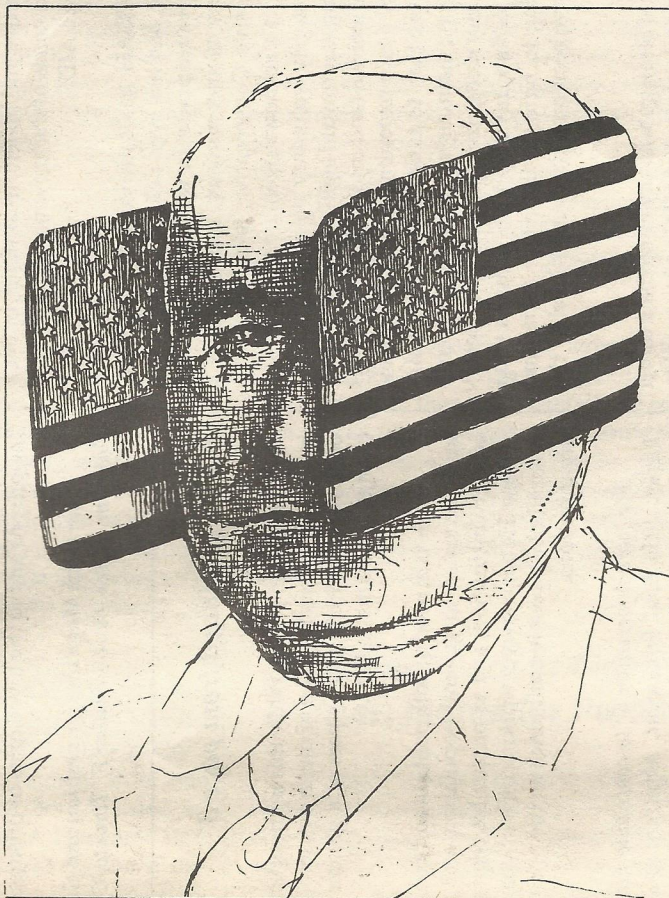
Blind Oversight

On 18/May/90, Congressman Robert Kastenmeier and cronies of the Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property and the Administration of Justice, which oversees the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) visited USP Marion. (See *Marionette*, #49, May-June/90) (No-one has yet explained why "Civil Liberties" was dropped from the Subcommittee's title and "Intellectual Property" substituted; must be symptomatic of prevalent government attitudes.) On 19/Jun/90, a report was issued which filtered into the dungeon by mid-July.

The report jumped immediately into BOP propaganda with the assertion that other prisons can be more open and humane and misbehavior in them can be deterred by Marion. The first claim is false: repressive attitudes among swine generated by Marion have spread instead. There is no evidence for the latter and officialdom has been caught lying about it in the past. Moreover, the report assumes and does not test official claims about who is at Marion, a crucial error considering the centrality of the answer to official justifications and how easy the fallacy of administrative contentions in that regard is to prove.

The report goes on to say, "If the current lockdown policy is the only way available to keep violence in the prison system down, then Congress and the American people have no choice but to accept it." and, later, that "Congress must rely on the Bureau of Prisons for its expertise in prison management." With that attitude of leaving the fox in charge of the chicken coup and the fox saying only that frying is better than boiling, it appears that Kastenmeier & Co. have abdicated the oversight function. Politician that he is, he's probably afraid of the swine calling him "soft" on crime. He needs to be made afraid of people who recognize the counterproductivity of draconian repression.

Regarding the concerns of prisoners about isolation, dehumanization, arbitrary treatment, contaminated water, and other matters, Kastenmeier dodges the issues, saying they will be looked at later and that the water test results are not in yet. (Like we don't know what they'll be?) Instead of substance, the report blathers platitudes about "concern" about lockdown and abuse of prisoners but washes congressional hands with drivel about how well administered Marion is. The Subcommittee says it will "carefully review" the plans for Marion's replacement dungeon in Florence, CO, toward allaying concerns about lockdown. This report says that review is all it will do — absent incentive. ∞



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Mind Control

by Corey Micenheimer

The mind can become a barren place in the dungeon, a shadow world of thoughtless thoughts where time and reality are meaningless, where life is portrayed only in the thunderous roar of a heart beat.

Today, in a burst of mixed emotions, I laughed and I cried, strangely enough. I found myself searching the hallways of my mind for the reason behind this outburst. No reason was forthcoming. Later, I found my mind wandering fruitlessly, as if in a daze. Then the question arose: "Has my mind deteriorated to the point where I can no longer decipher my own emotions?" It was a chilling question I was afraid to answer.

Yet the question remains, nagging for an answer. The search, which seemed to be for a single answer, has become a mission. Could the answer be so elusive because I have become someone I despise, or have I always been one who unknowingly despised the image of his own reflection? Could this drive me to self-destruction? My mind appears functional, but is it?

This question about my ability to decipher (to know?) myself has allowed me to focus my attention on a whole other area of questions also seeking answers. For one, the powers of manipulation — be it TV, radio, books, conversation or subliminal suggestion — can steer one unknowingly into strange situations. Could my uncertainty be planted there? Manipulation is an art, executed to achieve one's primary purpose. We all do it and are subjected to it.

My conclusions, to insure that uncertain ideas are not planted on me unknowingly, and possibly against my interests, were two: First, always carefully analyse the topic of discussion and ask questions until it is understood; Second, never make a commitment without thoroughly thinking the proposition out. ∞

Prisoner Campaign Notes

Repatriate Silvia Barbalini to Italy:

A committee has been formed to demand that the U.S. Justice Department uphold its treaty agreements and release Silvia to the Italian government. Silvia is an anti-imperialist political prisoner and an Italian citizen. After her conviction for support for the Black Liberation Army and participation in the liberation of Assata Shakur from prison, she was sentenced to 40 years in prison. The Italian government wants her released to them, where they will in turn release her. The Justice Department has refused because they do not think 8 years in U.S. prisons (including 2 at the infamous High Security Unit at Lexington) is enough punishment. For more information, contact: *The Committee for the Return of Silvia Barbalini to Italy, c/o Out of Control, Box 30, 3543 — 18th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.*

Stop Pennsylvania From Executing Political Prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal:

The case of Mumia Abu Jamla is the most urgent of all the political prisoners in the U.S. today. He faces the death penalty. The Governor of Pennsylvania recently signed the first death warrant for execution since the reinstatement of the death penalty in that state. Mumia is high on the list. There is not much time, his appeals are rapidly being exhausted, and he will be executed

without massive protest. Mumia is a MOVE supporter, a former Black Panther, and former president of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. Mumia was known as the "Voice of the Voiceless." He was targeted by the Philadelphia police for his support of MOVE, attacked by the police, and then convicted of murder by an all-white jury. At his sentencing, the government argued for death based on his previous membership in the Black Panther Party. If the state murders Mumia, it will be the first politically-motivated execution since the Rosenbergs. For more information, contact: *New Afrikan Network, Box 90604, Washington, DC, 20090; or The Tribunal Offices, 24 E. 116th St., New York, NY 10029.*

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All Shook Up

by Hanif Shabazz-Bey

Where is the notorious mass murderer from California, "Juan Corona", housed today? What has become of "Richard Speck" who in 1964 was convicted of slaying eight nurses in a Chicago hospital, or Dr. Charles McDonald, the ex-green beret officer who was convicted of murdering his wife and two young children in 1971? Are they still in state custody? The list of true sadist and serial killers who still linger in state custody goes on — John Wayne Grayce, John Berkowitz, the hillside strangler, just to name a few.

By far the great majority of the nation's most sensational and hideous killers are housed in state custody, so it is not surprising that Florence County Commission member Bud Chess said that when you move a prison population like Marion's into Florence County, it's just a part of life. Despite all the media hype of the worst of the worst being housed at Marion, not one of the prisoners mentioned in the "Greater Denver" article of May 11, 1990 is a serial killer or charged with any psychopathic crime. Although the men housed at Marion may appear to be incarcerated for more sophisticated crimes, they are greatly outnumbered by men in state custody who are there for senseless violent crimes. So it is easy to see why the people of Florence County have no reason to be shook up due to the forthcoming arrivals from Marion.

However, what the people of Florence County should be shook up about is that this new Federal Complex being erected in their community is another sign of insensitiveness being displayed by the Bush Administration. This Administration has no goals of building

more drug treatment centres for the growing number of addicts, which would decrease crime, nor are they taking steps to put more funding into education. The Administration's answer to the National crisis, is to build more prisons and then lock them up and throw away the keys.

The complex at Florence is one of the many that is being constructed across the country to meet the needs of the prisonrats who know they will need more room to hold the overflowing influx of poor people coming to prison with lengthy sentences under the new federal sentencing guidelines. All this does is widen the social and economic gap between the haves and have nots.

When a nation that spends thousands of dollars each minute on military defense, and billions each year on space exploration, can come up with no better solutions to the crisis this Nation is facing than building more prisons, then it is time to be shook up. ∞

No Response to Your Letter?

Due to our support work for the besieged Mohawks, we have been unable to keep up with our correspondence. Over the next two months, we will try to catch up. It is our intention to respond to as many letters as possible. Now that we have begun to grow in size, this should be more possible. Friends from outside of Toronto will be doing some of our correspondence.